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## The Tragedy of *Coriolanus*

Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* has never been popular with modern audiences. Its meaning has not been understood, and generations of critics have done little to relieve the confusion. It has been called a hastily constructed dramatic failure, the story of a 'mamma's boy', a declining poet's diatribe at the lower classes, a tragedy of 'excessive virtue', an unsuccessful attempt at satire, a political morality play, and even Shakespeare's tribute to his dead mother. That there should be such disagreement among critics is difficult to understand, for *Coriolanus* is one of the clearest and simplest tragedies that Shakespeare ever wrote. The play was almost certainly written in 1609, at the very height of Shakespeare's artistic maturity. The story was one well known to the Elizabethan audience; Shakespeare found the general outlines of his hero's character in North's Plutarch, and he followed his source closely. If modern audiences do not respond to this play as they do to *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar* or *Antony and Cleopatra*, it is not necessarily because *Coriolanus* is structurally inferior to these, but rather because the central destructive emotion with which it deals is one which a twentieth century audience cannot appreciate as it was appreciated by Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

That emotion is the cardinal sin of pride, the most terrible of the Medieval seven deadly sins, the cause of Adam's fall and the debasement of the universe, and to Renaissance moralists the ultimate source of all violations of degree, civil disorders, and calamities which could befall a commonwealth. The term means relatively little in the modern world, but the horror attached to it in Shakespeare's world cannot be overemphasized. Generations of critics, from Charles Gildon on down,<sup>1</sup> have recognized *Coriolanus* as a tragedy of pride, and the recent critics who have taken exception to this have really offered us little cogent reason to believe that Shakespeare's intention was anything else.

While nineteenth and twentieth century audiences have failed to react to the full significance of this basic theme in the play, they have reacted in a way Shakespeare and his audience would never have anticipated to another element, the castigation of the populace by Coriolanus and Menenius, and the general anti-democratic tone of the play. Readers of Dr. Tillyard's admirable works<sup>2</sup> need not be reminded of the importance of 'degree' in Shakespeare's world and of the fidelity with which the dramatist adhered to the concept. Although Shakespeare was probably more than usually concerned in 1609 with the problem of rebellion because, as has been

<sup>1</sup> *Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1710), III, 362.

<sup>2</sup> *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London, 1943); *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1946).

suggested, of the Midlands insurrections of 1607,<sup>3</sup> the political implications of the play do not differ markedly from those of Shakespeare's other works, and they are, in effect, the commonplace of the age.<sup>4</sup> Our preoccupation with this unsympathetic social attitude has obscured the more basic dramatic theme of the play. I do not mean that *Coriolanus* is a non-political play. It is fraught with political problems with which we know the author was deeply concerned. But, as in all of the political plays, the problems of state are subordinate to those of character. Out of the defect of Coriolanus's character proceeds the danger to the Roman state. The hero of the play is not Rome, as James E. Phillips would have it.<sup>5</sup> The hero is Coriolanus.

There is, however, a marked difference in dramatic structure between *Coriolanus* and the great tragedies of Shakespeare's middle period. In *Othello* and *King Lear*, for instance, Shakespeare followed a dramatic pattern closely allied to the old Morality Play tradition. A great and noble man, with impulses towards the good, is seduced by evil through ignorance, commits enormous crimes which lead to his own destruction, but eventually becomes aware of his evil and undergoes a short period of regeneration and penance before death. In *Coriolanus* we still have a tragic world in which a basically good man is seduced by evil and brought to destruction. If we feel admiration and sympathy for Coriolanus, it is because Shakespeare never lets us forget that he is essentially a great and noble man — as noble as Lear or Othello. The difference is actually one of dramatic structure, rather than of the author's changing philosophy of life. Shakespeare in *Coriolanus* attempts to achieve greater dramatic intensity by eliminating the preliminary action. The play opens with the hero already seduced by the evil which will destroy him. In the Medieval allegory of man's journey from the cradle to the grave, *Coriolanus* begins at a later stage. The hero's action from the play's beginning corresponds roughly to that of Othello in the final two acts. Shakespeare has focussed his attention upon a smaller and perhaps more dramatic portion of the human life history.

And in *Coriolanus* we do not have that reformation and return to virtue at the end, which is so characteristic of *Lear* and *Othello*. At the moment when Coriolanus realizes that his life has brought him to a tragic impasse from which there is no escape, death strikes swiftly. That moment comes when, returning to the camp of the Volscians after sparing Rome, he is accused of treachery by Aufidius. In his 'Traitor! How now!' (V, vi, 86)

<sup>3</sup> E. C. Pettet, 'Coriolanus and the Midlands Insurrection of 1607,' *Shakespeare Survey III* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 34-42.

<sup>4</sup> Brents Stirling in *Shakespeare and the Populace* (New York, 1949) has illustrated the complete conventionality of the attitude towards the populace in *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar* and the Jack Cade scenes. He has further ascribed this attitude to a fear of social levelling which, according to conservatives, was implicit in the teachings of the growing non-conformist religious sects.

<sup>5</sup> *The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays* (New York, 1940), pp. 172-88.



we have a point in the tragic development which roughly corresponds to Othello's

Are there no stones in heaven  
But what serve for the thunder — Precious Villain ! (V, ii, 234-5)

as he becomes aware of Iago's treachery. But, whereas Othello in his final speeches reverts to the calm man of reason and self-control he was at the play's beginning, Coriolanus does not change. He remains what he has been from the play's beginning. He calls for his death with his:

Cut me to pieces, Volsces; men and lads,  
Stain all your edges on me. 'Boy !' False hound !  
If you have writ your annals true, 'tis there,  
That like an eagle in a dove-cote, I  
Flutter'd your Volsces in Corioles:  
Alone I did it. 'Boy !' (V, vi, 110-15)

And death comes, leaving only Aufidius and the attendant lords to praise the hero's greatness. If this departure from the earlier formula shows an advance in Shakespeare's artistry, it is because he here preserved the consistency of his central character better than he did in *Othello*.

How then does a prideful man act to bring about his own destruction ? We may perhaps find the answer to this question in that great compendium of Elizabethan moral philosophy, *The French Academy* of Pierre de La Primaudaye. The basic element of pride, says the French moralist, is in man's failure to know himself. It grows out of self-ignorance and engenders self-deception:

There is nothing more easie than for a man to deceiue himself. For looke what a man earnestly desireth, hee supposeth it is alreadye as it were come to passe, or at least hee promiseth to himselfe that he shal easily obtaine it. But often times things fall out otherwise then men looke or hope for. Now the chiefe cause of their error heerin is that presumption, which commonly they haue of their owne wisdom and vertue, whereby they are lift up with vaine confidence and puffed vp with pride. For when men are caried away with an inordinate and blind loue of themselves, they are soone perswaded that there is nothing in them worthy to be despised, yea they thinke that their ignorance is wisdom: insomuch that knowing nothing, they suppose they know all things, and hauing no dexteritie to performe one commendable work, they presume very inconsideratly to set their hand to euery great matter. But the more care and diligence they bestow, being led with a desire to shew great skil and thinking to winne honour and renowne, so much the more they discover their ignorance and blockishnes, purchasing to themselves shame and infamie.<sup>6</sup>

Shakespeare tells us in several important places that his Coriolanus is a man who has never known himself, and the political action of the play perfectly illustrates the proud man's bringing destruction upon himself and the ignorant and ill-conceived attempts to obey the dictates of what he considers honor and reason. Plutarch had attributed Coriolanus's short-

<sup>6</sup> *The Second Part of the French Academy*, trans. by T. B. (London, 1594), p. 330.



comings to an ignorance resulting from neglected and improper education; it is probable that Shakespeare found his clue in this characterization and made of it an ignorance arising from excessive love of self.

La Primaudaye says further:

And indeede God hath made man of a mild and communicable nature, apt to societie, and to liue with companie not solitarily, as sauage beastes vse to doe. Therefore there is nothing more contrarie to his nature, and to that ende for which he was created, then this vicious pride, whereby he is so puffed up and swelleth in such sort, as if he were of some other nature and condition than humane, and as though he meant to liue in some other estate and degree then of man. (p. 332)

Shakespeare gives us a Coriolanus who is, in the true sense of the word, anti-social. He loves greatness, honor and Rome, but he does not love his fellow men. The patricians he respects, for in his philosophy they are the bulwark of the social order he wishes to uphold, but there is no evidence that he loves any one of them — not even Menenius — as a man. His love of Rome, moreover, is really the love of an abstraction, for it has no relation to any affection for the people of Rome, either patrician or plebeian. The First Citizen is very accurate when he says that Coriolanus's services to Rome really have been services to himself:

Though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was for his country, he did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud; which he is, even to the altitude of his virtue. (I, i, 36-40)

His only tie to human kind is his mother, and even that very selfish tie he comes close to severing.

Coriolanus would deny his common humanity and 'live in some other estate and degree then of man.' Perhaps nowhere in the play is this better shown than in the battle scenes before Corioli. It has been pointed out that although Coriolanus is a great fighter, he is not a great general.<sup>7</sup> He is never the leader of an army; he is a solitary hero. His great feat within the city walls is accomplished by him alone, and in the closing of the city walls behind him there is a symbol of the hero's utter alienation from his men. We need only read the curses he hurls at his troops alongside of King Harry's words before Harfleur in *Henry V* to see the difference between the fighter who stands alone and the great general who feels his bonds with humanity. In Coriolanus's rejection of praise we see again the solitary man who cannot bear to show his inner sense of glory to the world or share it with his fellow men. The well-meant tributes of Cominius and Lartius are rejected as base flattery:

No more, I say! For that I have not wash'd  
My nose that bled, or foil'd some debile wretch  
Which, without note, here's many else have done,

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, P. A. Jorgensen, 'Shakespeare's Coriolanus: Elizabethan Soldier,' *PMLA*, XLIV (1949), 221-35.

You shout me forth  
 In acclamations hyperbolical:  
 As if I loved my little should be dieted  
 In praises sauc'd with lies. (I, ix, 47-53)

The well meaning Cominius is rightly taken back at this scornful rejection of his sincere acclaim:

Too modest are you;  
 More cruel to your good report than grateful  
 To us that give you truly. By your patience,  
 If 'gainst yourself you be incens'd, we'll put you  
 Like one that means his proper harm, in manacles,  
 Then reason safely with you. (I, ix, 53-8)

Coriolanus's attitude towards the populace is one which is shaped by his solitary a-social nature. The Renaissance audience could well believe Shakespeare's hero when he called the multitude fickle and untrustworthy, for that was the commonplace attitude of the age. Further, it would never question Coriolanus's denial to the populace of a voice in government; it would accept implicitly his censure of those who would

Sit by the fire and presume to know  
 What's done i' the Capitol. (I, i, 190-1)

But it would never consider Coriolanus a fit man to govern a commonwealth. The Tudor doctrine of government, which is perfectly expressed in Menenius's fable of the belly and the members, delegated absolute authority to the king and enjoined complete and unquestioning obedience upon the people. But with the king's authority went responsibility. As the representative upon earth of a just and beneficent God, he must rule for the benefit of his people. When a king neglected his people and governed for his own indulgence or aggrandizement, he became a tyrant, and Elizabethan moralists held that a tyrant must inevitably be destroyed by God.<sup>8</sup>

Coriolanus wishes to assume the unquestioned authority of the lawful ruler, but he will not consider the welfare of the people. Menenius explains to the people that their hardships come from God and not from the patrician rulers who have only the people's welfare at heart (I, i, 64ff), and he concludes his famous parable with:

The senators of Rome are this good belly  
 And you the mutinous members; for examine  
 Their counsels and their cares, digest things rightly  
 Touching the weal o' the common, you will find  
 No public benefit which you receive  
 But it proceeds or comes from them to you,  
 And no way from yourselves. (I, i, 147-54)

<sup>8</sup> See W. A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan Concept of the Tyrant,' *RES.* XXII (1946), 161-81.



This is orthodox Tudor theory. But when Coriolanus comes upon the scene, what do we have:

What's the matter, you dissentious rogues,  
That, rubbing the poor itch of your opinion,  
Make yourself scabs? (I, i, 163-4)

And his abuse of the populace proceeds through scene after scene. There is never in the mind of Coriolanus the slightest concern for the welfare of the people or the least consideration of the duties of government. He demands the unquestioned authority of the ruler, but he is never aware of the responsibilities that go with that authority. The solitary man of pride, living in a world of his own, cut off from emotional contact with humanity, cannot conceive of obligations to others.

This then is Shakespeare's portrait of the man who has succumbed to the deadly sin of pride. His downward path to destruction is accelerated when he attempts to gain the consulship, a position it must be remembered which had traditionally been granted in Rome by popular acclamation. The Elizabethans were much concerned with the art of statecraft; many books were written on the subject. Its essential element was an ability to control the people and lead them where one would. The path to the consulship is open to Coriolanus. He need only be a statesman. Menenius and Volumnia counsel him to obey the ancient Roman tradition and ask the people for their consent, and under their persuasion he makes an attempt to do so, but he fails. La Primaudaye writes:

And because he cannot giue place to any, if he stand in contention for any thing, he holdeth his opinion with inuincible obstinacy: insomuch that no authority whatsoever, no truth how apparantly so ever it be laid before him, no benefit or profit shalbe able to turne him from that which he hath once imagined. For his desire to be preferred before all, and in all matters is so hote and feruent, that he feareth nothing more then to be accounted inferiour in any one matter to any other body whosoever he be. And this causeth him also to bee vnteachable and vnapt to learne. For by this reason of his pride, he is ashamed to learn. Besides, the ambition and insatiable desire of glorie that is in him, causeth him that he cannot suffer any admonition, but continueth resolute in that which he had once taken hold of. (pp. 333-4)

The warnings and adjurations of his mother and his friends are of no avail. The price of the consulship is 'to ask it kindly' (II, iii, 75) but that price Coriolanus will not pay. He only knows that:

Better it is to die, better to sterue,  
Than crave the hire which first we do deserve. (II, iii, 112-13)

\* \* \*

Rather than fool it so  
Let the high office and the honour go  
To one that would do thus. (II, ii, 112-22)

There is certainly something admirable about a man who will stand by his ideals, no matter what sacrifices they may entail, and Shakespeare never



hides from us the noble side of his hero's nature. But Coriolanus's nobility is allied to his great vice. A man whose pride will not permit him to exercise the traditional duties as well as the rights of his country, whose scorn of the people will make him incapable of leading and guiding them, is a man who should not aspire to the privileges of government. Coriolanus, with his open mockery of the people, succeeds only in defeating his own purpose and in bringing about his banishment from Rome. Ignorant in his pride, Coriolanus knows as little of the practical art of statecraft as he knows of the moral responsibilities of government. And his shortcomings are emphasized in the character of Tullus Aufidius, whom Shakespeare presents as a perfect parallel to his hero. Aufidius has none of the nobility of Coriolanus. Indeed he is somewhat of a villain, as may be seen from his plotting against Coriolanus. But neither does he have the great shortcomings of Coriolanus. Pride never blinds him to his duties to his people, and of what the Elizabethans conceived of as 'policy' he is the complete master. He is always an effective leader of men.

The man of pride who considers himself wronged, says La Primaudaye, turns immediately to thoughts of revenge:

Now as pride breedeth arrogancie, so enuie, ill will, anger, rancour, and desire of reuenge doe followe and accompanie it, together with impatience, indignation, selfe-will, obstanacie, and other such like vices ... And because hee supposeth that he is never so well esteemed as he deserveth he waxeth very angry, being desirous to reuenge himselfe if there be any meanes. (p. 333)

Coriolanus has loved Rome as an abstract ideal by which he can feed his egoism. When it no longer serves that purpose, but becomes instead the source of his shame and degradation, he can think only of destroying it. Pride thus becomes a theme of tragic proportions. Not only will it destroy Coriolanus, but it threatens to bring the state itself to ruin. Blinded by pride, Coriolanus commits the greatest of errors. He allies himself with his most bitter enemy, and together they plot the destruction of Rome. And it is important to note that Coriolanus never questions the rightness of his course. La Primaudaye writes:

And he so farre from suffring patiently, that any man should condemn him, or any word or deede of his, that, hee will haue his vices taken for vertues, and looketh to bee commended for them. (p. 334)

Rome for her sins has merited destruction; to spare Rome would in the mind of Coriolanus be an act of weakness, an abandonment of the duty with which he has been charged. Pride has colored the greatest of sins so that to him it appears to be the greatest of virtues. When his mother approaches with his wife and child he steels himself with the thought that duty and honor exceed the claims of all humanities:

My wife comes foremost; then the honour's mold  
Wherein this trunk was fram'd, and in her hand  
The grandchild to her blood. But out, affection!

All bond and privilege of nature break!  
 Let it be virtuous to be obstinate.  
 What is that curt'sy worth? or those doves eyes,  
 Which can make gods forsworn? I melt, and am not  
 Of stronger earth than others. My mother bows;  
 As if Olympus to a molehill should  
 In supplication nod; and my young boy  
 Hath an aspect of intercession, which  
 Great nature cries, 'Deny not.' Let the Volscies  
 Plough Rome, and harrow Italy; I'll never  
 Be such a gosling to obey instinct, but stand,  
 As if a man were author of himself  
 And knew no other kin. (V, iii, 22-37)

He feels the bonds now which bind him to humanity, but pride still makes him deny them. He has got himself into a situation from which there is no escape. His conception of duty and honor has been completely divorced from the one consideration out of which true duty and honor must ultimately spring: man's relation to humanity. To obey the dictates of an honor which would deny the bonds of both family and country, Coriolanus must indeed be one 'of some other nature and condition than humane', one who 'meant to live in some other estate and degree than of man.'

And it is precisely because, when the ultimate test comes, Coriolanus is a man and one whose impulses are naturally towards the good that he cannot abandon his country and his family and keep that faith to the Volscians which only the excesses of pride had caused him to pledge. And the conflict into which pride has led Coriolanus is perfectly expressed in the great speech of Volumnia (V, iii, 94-124).

If Coriolanus were the monster which some critics have attempted to make of him, he would never have yielded to his mother's pleas. It is because he is a basically good man, confused and misled by an evil force, that he does. Volumnia has been the one thing in his life to tie him to humanity, and in the crucial instance that force prevails. Coriolanus spares Rome because there is nothing else he can do, but in doing so he prepares for his own death. And he is aware of it:

O my mother, mother! O!  
 You have won a happy victory to Rome;  
 But, for your son, believe it, O, believe it,  
 Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,  
 If not most mortal to him. (V, iii, 185-9)

If Shakespeare were following the plan he had followed in *Othello* and *King Lear*, he would have made Coriolanus here realize his pride and its enormities, renounce it and, as a perfect man, undergo a short period of repentance before death. But, although Coriolanus here sees the result of his action, he still does not perceive the cause. Coriolanus returns to the camp of the Volscians, and he returns still unaware of the nature of his sin. He is still the proud man, as confident of his righteousness as ever. Only when

Aufidius calls him traitor is his illusion finally shattered and his true situation made clear to him. And then death comes swiftly.

The story of *Coriolanus* is thus that of a great hero whose impulses are towards the good, but who, because he has been seduced and corrupted by pride, leads himself into a situation from which there is no escape. The design of the play is simple and direct. Coriolanus begins his movement towards destruction in the very first scene, and he is destroyed in the last. The mental conflict which accompanies the struggle between good and evil is not evident in this play, as it is in *Othello*, *Lear* and *Macbeth*. Evil has already triumphed at the play's beginning. Shakespeare need only show us the rapid course of its operation. But at no time does Shakespeare obscure from us the noble qualities of his hero, or deny us the hope that he will eventually overcome the evil force to which he is slave, and after death perhaps achieve salvation.

Ohio State University.

IRVING RIBNER.

## *Bateau Ivre: The Symbol of the Sea in Virginia Woolf's The Waves*

They say, Yes; they say, No; they bring their fists down with a bang on the table. But I doubt; I tremble; I see the wild thorn tree shake its shadow in the desert.

(Rhoda, in *The Waves*, p. 115.)

By the age of nineteen, the characters in *The Waves* have all created the pattern of their lives. Their characters are formed, their careers are on the point of beginning. Bernard and Neville are at the university, Susan is on her farm, Jinny is a social success. But Rhoda, at first sight, is liable to pass unnoticed. She is so ineffectual, so unassertive: physically she is so small and frail that she is apt to be eclipsed by her more forceful companions. She is the shy awkward girl at the dance, she was the child who could not tie up her shoes and is to become the woman who shuns — indeed, who hates — her fellow-beings. No, she is not an arresting character. Nevertheless, there is something pathetic in her frailty and in the dogged determination with which she resists the dreams and desires that threaten to overwhelm her mental life. Indeed, her clear-sighted awareness of the issues involved and the acute perception of her own character give dignity to her suffering, for a less heroic person would have abandoned herself to her dreams without a struggle. But it is evident that she is handicapped by her dreams, by her pathetic inaction, from which all her difficulties spring. To suggest that she is a portrait of Virginia



Woolf herself could hardly be justified: but to regard Rhoda as the formulation of certain difficulties in literary and artistic expression might, *inter alia*, give us some insight into Mrs. Woolf's reflections on the problem of artistic creation as a whole. For, in *The Waves*, we may follow the course that Rhoda sets as she ventures out further and further in her frail bark onto the high seas of the unconscious mind on her quest for spiritual and aesthetic reality.

To understand Rhoda, however, we must first realise the importance of the independent yet inter-related aspects of her character. Her difficulties seem, on the surface, to be of three different kinds. These are the difficulty of dealing adequately with the daily course of life, the problem of social adjustment, whether in friendship or love, and that of finding some formal embodiment of her artistic experiences. Yet all these problems seem to spring from one fundamental *malaise*. She is intimately aware of the movement of life and the passage of time, the necessity of proceeding from situation to situation, or from one state of mind to another if she is to remain in contact with practical and social concerns. Yet she is equally conscious of her inability to do this. She cannot allow her mind to move in harmony with events, situations and people. Her mind, in fact, has a movement of its own — a more satisfying rhythm of dream and phantasy.

We first meet her as a child of six, at play; she is rocking her white petals in a brown bowl; the petals are ships which represent adventure — and she has already identified herself with the most adventurous ship, which sails proudly among the curling crests of the waves to exotic islands where parrots chatter. At the beginning of her life, the life of the imagination and the life of everyday reality do not conflict. She is happy with her petal boats: she can allow her mind to lodge undisturbed in the satisfying movement of the water lapping on the sides of the bowl and allow it to carry her into a world of dreams. Yet the struggle soon begins. When she is called to the schoolroom the oppressive sense of time — of what is at once the present moment and eternity — seizes her mind:

Now the terror is beginning... The others are handing in their answers, one by one. Now it is my turn. But I have no answer...  
(*The Waves*, p. 20.)

She is left to finish her lesson alone, but she can no longer find meaning in the figures. The clock with its continuous tick draws her away from the realities of the arithmetic lesson to the day dreams of the desert. Furthermore, the imaginative quality of her dream returns to invest the figures with a new meaning — her own meaning. The hot lonely desert gives its colouring to her meditation on the figures; she is seized with a feeling of intense spiritual isolation:

the loop of the figure is beginning to fill with time; it holds the world in it. (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

She feels she will be blown far away from the finite world, and longs for the reassurance of concrete reality.

But even later in the day when she is in bed and approaches sleep she is not at rest. Her dreams bring her no satisfaction, for the very freedom of her dreams gives her a sense of insecurity and isolation. She presses her toes against the rail of the bed, for she fears she 'will fall through the thin sheet' (p. 27). As she drifts off to sleep, dreaming again of her petal boats which have now become Armadas on the high seas, she is troubled by the sense of limitless space beneath her, until the sea takes possession of her, bearing her up and on. In her terror she projects her fear on to the figure of her aunt, an unsympathetic person 'with nodding yellow plumes, with eyes hard like glazed marbles', from whom she flees, soaring over the tree-tops, skimming the earth with spring-heeled boots. But the fear and hatred which she feels towards her aunt are in fact an evasion of her real difficulty. Intuitively she is aware that in her overwhelming desire to escape from reality into a world of phantasy lie the seeds of her own downfall. The sense of insecurity which she feels at the onset of her dreams is in fact a premonition of the dangers which she 'is incurring. For not only do the objects in the room grow stretched and elongated, not only does she see the chest-of-drawers and the cupboard 'dwindle', but with the disappearance of external reality comes a threat to her personal identity. As she falls asleep her sense of *her* existence disappears, and she is left with a bare sense of existence devoid of any awareness of her own identity. Her whole being becomes distorted, her mind seems slowly to disintegrate.

I am stretched, among these lights, these long waves, these endless paths, with people pursuing, pursuing.  
(*The Waves*, p. 28.)

This is the cause of her terror, as indeed of her elation. She exults in the sense of unimpeded movement which carries her forward, but this movement is fraught with danger. Its very freedom brings her delight, but the sheer sense of infinity which is inseparable from it causes her terror and anguish, and finally threatens to engulf the most vital part of her being. Early in life she has the courage to protest and reassert her identity with reality, but to trace the progress of this malady is to show how the terror does finally overcome her will to live. What is this 'movement' which at first attracts and then repels her? This we can only discover by watching the progress of Rhoda's inner life.

We have seen her in childhood at play, at work, and then falling off to sleep. When she is older and goes away to school, the problem becomes more acute for she is expected to be more responsible. Yet even when she is walking out of doors or among her friends she still feels as if she must prevent herself from falling 'down into nothingness', or fears she will fall off the edge of the world into nothingness. 'I have to bang my hand against some hard door to call myself back to the body,' she says. She grows more and more determined to shun the responsibilities of practical life. Her reveries seem at times to take the form of trances. One of these 'gaps in her awareness' is induced by having to cross a puddle.

...There was a star riding through clouds one night, and I said to the star, 'Consume me'. That was at midsummer, after the garden party and my humiliation at the garden party. Wind and storm coloured July. Also, in the middle, cadaverous, awful, lay the grey puddle in the courtyard, when, holding an envelope in my hand, I carried a message. I came to the puddle. I could not cross it. Identity failed me. We are nothing, I said, and fell. I was blown like a feather. I was wafted down tunnels. Then very gingerly, I pushed my foot across. I laid my hand against a brick wall. I returned very painfully, drawing myself back into my body over the grey, cadaverous space of the puddle.

(*The Waves*, pp. 68-69.)

Even in this simple operation the sight of the water, the sense of space and the necessity of interrupting her dreams in order to cross it successfully make her forget her identity for a moment. As adolescence approaches she makes no effort to throw off her love of dreams; in fact she watches with satisfaction how her body is learning to ignore reality:

'Month by month things are losing their hardness; even my body now lets the light through; my spine is soft like wax near the flame of a candle. I dream; I dream.

(*Ibid.*, p. 48.)

Perhaps the crisis of this earlier part of her life occurs one day when she is sitting in the library. She imagines she is gathering together the oveliness of the world into a nosegay, a work of art in which she can give the world back its beauty. The 'Empress dream' which she has dreamed while washing is repudiated, for the Empress dream was essentially a dream of power:

'I am your Empress, people'. My attitude is one of defiance. I am fearless. I conquer.

(*Ibid.*, p. 60.)

This however, is a 'thin' dream, it is not solid and it gives her no satisfaction; for Rhoda does not seek power, but the warmth of love and the joy of creating:

I will bind flowers in one garland and clasp them and present them — Oh! to whom? There is some check in the flow of my being; a deep stream presses on some obstacle; it jerks; it tugs; some knot in the centre resists. Oh, this is pain, this is anguish! I faint, I fail. Now my body thaws; I am unsealed, I am incandescent. Now the stream pours in a deep tide fertilising, opening the shut, forcing the tight-folded, flooding free. To whom shall I give all that now flows through me, from my warm, my porous body? I will gather my flowers and present them — Oh! to whom? (*Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.)

Here seems to be the core of her problem; she will gather and bind her flowers, she wants to 'give' but to whom she does not know because she is so out of touch with those around her; her inspiration fails because she has no contact with humanity. Her early conflict was primarily a conflict between dream and reality; this struggle, in her adolescence, finds new allies which at once strengthen the fundamental problem and introduce two new factors into her mental life. First then her garland must represent a garland of love, of friendship, her desire to give; the sexual language used to express this desire shows how fundamental the need is. Secondly,



the gathering of flowers seems to represent a work of art, a work of the imagination. These two themes become intertwined in the remainder of Rhoda's musings and reinforce her fundamental conflict with reality. Yet in some way this giving, this yielding must resolve her conflict. If only, she seems to say, I could find some embodiment of my dreams, could formulate them, and in formulating them create some relationship between myself and other people, either as artist or lover, then I should perhaps realise the promise of my life. At once she realises this is not possible, for within her being lies some 'check'. She is able to dream about her garland, her poetic offering, but she is quite unable to create it; indeed, perhaps she is never even aware of the necessity of actually creating a work of art. In the same way she can, in imagination, unseal her body but she cannot in the last resort give herself to Louis. The reality of love she cannot meet. So later, she leaves Louis in his loneliness, though she is prepared to indulge in a romantic dream at their parting:

I have longed to see the cupboard dwindle, to feel the bed soften, to float suspended, to perceive lengthened trees, lengthened faces, a green bank on a moor and two figures in distress saying goodbye.  
(*The Waves*, p. 223.)

Rhoda neither develops as a person nor as an artist. When she next appears as a young woman of twenty she is at a party, and watches with growing agitation how Jinny dances triumphantly through the evening. So too when the six friends meet to mark the departure of Percival for India, Rhoda's immediate reaction is to retreat into the world of phantasy. Again she resorts to the movement of wind and water to carry her far from reality; she evokes images of anonymity and flight:

And I have no face. I am like the foam that races over the beach or the moonlight that falls arrowlike here on a tin can, here on a spike of the mailed sea holly, or a bone or a half-eaten boat. I am whirled down caverns, and flap like paper against endless corridors, and must press my hand against the wall to draw myself back.  
(*Ibid.*, p. 141.)

The wind and the sea, which were constantly present in her childhood phantasies, now become invested with a deeper emotional significance. In the calm silence which follows the meal she first conjures up a picture of restful beauty and repose; but her dream does not end in the grove which suggests the static serenity of Greek art. She is inevitably drawn to the sea which, in its perpetual movement, is the perfect image of the ceaseless flow of dreams and images which wash at the base of her mind. She sees —

... a hollow where the many-backed steep hills come down like birds' wings folded. There, on the short, firm turf, are bushes, dark leaved, and against their darkness I see a shape, white, but not of stone, moving, perhaps alive... When the white arm rests upon the knee it is a triangle; now it is upright — a column; now a fountain, falling. It makes no sign, it does not beckon, it does not see us. Behind it roars the sea. It is beyond our reach. Yet there I venture. There I go to replenish my emptiness, to stretch my nights and fill them fuller and fuller with dreams. And for a second even now, even here, I reach my object and say, 'Wander no more. All else is trial and make-believe. Here is the end'.  
(*Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.)

The sea by its very restlessness brings her some sort of satisfaction for it reflects her perpetual longing to explore and create. This explains her feelings of triumph and relaxation in the next scene when she goes to a concert. Music in her mind becomes identified with the sea, so that the suggestive power of the sea-symbol is intensified. In music, with its movement and sustained flow of melody she has found something which will bear her along on its waves. And here we find the secret which explains the fascination which the wind and the sea have always held for her. They are not merely symbols and images which enable her to escape from reality which she dreads. They are symbols of the unconscious mind itself and in this unconscious part of the mind thought, imaginative and aesthetic thought, is preserved at the pure level of intuition and association. Here she can find aesthetic reality. Music, like the sea, is a perfect medium for this reality and a perfect symbol of the unconscious mind. In words we are reduced to analogies and comparisons; words are an imperfect medium for conveying the fleeting perceptions of beauty which are part of the elusive content of aesthetic reality. Music gives us direct experience of this beauty.

'Like', and 'like' and 'like' — but what is the thing that lies beneath the semblance of the thing? Now that lightning has gashed the tree and the flowering branch has fallen and Percival, by his death, has made me this gift, let me see the thing...

The sweetness of this content overflowing runs down the walls of my mind, and liberates understanding. Wander no more, I say; this is the end.

(*The Waves*, pp. 176-177.)

The shock of Percival's death has made Rhoda more receptive to the meaning of the music; he has given her this gift of mental and artistic illumination by which she can appreciate beauty revealed in music and unhampered by metaphor and simile. So released and satisfied has her mind become that she flings herself fearlessly into the crowd outside and goes to the embankment to watch the ships bowling down the tide. The sight of the moving water enables her to release the pent-up emotions suppressed within her. Not only is she troubled by Percival's death but the imagery and choice of words at the end of this scene show how death has intensified a deeper longing. Her soliloquy shows once again how her artistic problems are bound up with a sexual problem.

Now I will relinquish; now I will let loose. Now I will at last free the checked, the jerked-back desire to be spent, to be consumed. We will gallop together over desert hills where the swallow dips her wings in dark pools and the pillars stand entire. Into the wave that dashes upon the shore, into the wave that flings its white foam to the uttermost corners of the earth, I throw my violets, my offering to Percival.

(*Ibid.*, p. 178.)

She offers her garland to Percival, the ideal Englishman. That Percival has died, however, underlines the unreality of Rhoda's offering.

The final turning point in Rhoda's life occurs when she visits Spain and climbs a mountain from which she hopes to view Africa. This ascent, which she makes on the back of a jogging mule, is again symbolic: it is an artistic pilgrimage, for in seeking a view of the African coast, she hopes to achieve a vision of cosmic beauty which would resolve the endless flux of her dreams. But instead of a vision, she achieves nothing but a sense of infinity and death. She cannot resist the upsurging of her unconscious mind, as she is lulled to sleep by the hypnotic movement of the mule. When she reaches the climax of her dream she is again obsessed with the sensation of falling through space; but her preoccupation with infinity almost overwhelms her and she imagines now that she steps out into an infinity of space. Her vision is obscured as she seems to float in mid-air. Then, as she touches the sea, there is no longer an exhilarating voyage over the waves: she is engulfed. She can make no resistance to the waters in which her whole personality is destroyed and dissolved. The endless flux of her unconscious mind has led her to desire nihilistic peace and union with nothingness.

We launch out now over the precipice. Beneath us lie the lights of the herring fleet. The cliffs vanish. Rippling small, rippling grey, innumerable waves spread beneath us. I touch nothing. I see nothing. We may sink and settle on the waves. The sea will drum in my ears. The white petals will be darkened with sea water. They will float for a moment then sink. Rolling me over the waves will shoulder me under. Everything falls in an immense shower, dissolving me. (*The Waves*, pp. 224-225.)

She now seems to have lost her childhood fear of the sea; she abandons herself to the swirling water and no longer dreads the disintegration of her mind in its waves.

Rhoda must not be dismissed as a foil to more impressive characters like Bernard or Susan. In her, Virginia Woolf has made an important contribution to the theory of the imagination. In the movement of the unconscious mind which is constantly tempting Rhoda away from reality into a new reality recreated by her own imagination, Virginia Woolf sees the replica of the creative activity of the artist. The numerous 'gaps' in her conscious thought are often, it is true, induced by some definite external stimulus — the grey cadaverous space of the puddle or the hypnotic swaying of the mule's body as she climbs the Spanish mountain. She is hypnotised, as it were, by some external stimulus, but the stimulus itself is always one which patently reflects her own emotional needs. It is the very fact that she sees the rippling water of the puddle, or the motion of a mule as an external reflection of her unconscious mind that gives them their fascination. The symbols which frequently enter her dreams are all very similar to each other — the rocking or flowing movement of the sea, the rushing of the wind, the unchecked galloping of a horse, the rolling expanses of the desert and the movement of music. All these images are invoked to suggest the sensation of a ceaseless passage through time, and are in fact symbols which frequently occur in dreams, as the



unconscious mind's picture of its own activity. But Rhoda has not the ability to blend her unconscious life with her conscious life. So enamoured is she of the blind god Dionysus that she is unable to find satisfaction and repose in the art of Apollo. And though she spent her life trying to integrate her dreams yet she never attained the satisfaction of beholding her inspiration face to face, of actually *seeing* her view of Africa. She could live only in the eternal flux of dream, suggestion and association; her vision was blind, confused and unordered. She was never able to bring it out into the light of day, to expose it to reality and to the gaze of her fellow men.

In this respect, Rhoda's difficulty is a problem which is central to modern art and literature, and which was particularly acute at the beginning of the present century. Her inability to find adequate expression for her inspiration is characteristic of an age which is so concerned with the artistic significance of the unconscious mind, and which seeks to make literature and art a fit embodiment for its expression. The problem is seen, perhaps, at its most interesting stage of development in the literature and painting of the late nineteenth century. In writers like Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Proust, and perhaps in artists like Gauguin and Van Gogh, the struggle with an elusive inspiration resulted not only in the torment of artistic creation, but also in physical and mental disorders. Poets like Mallarmé found the immediacy of aesthetic experience so difficult to recapture in its entirety that they were frequently driven to write on this very theme, and the impossibility of seizing and formulating perceptions in their initial perfection became one of the central ideas in French Symbolist writing. The same problem claimed the attention of Proust. His efforts to recapture past experience in its original blend of thought and sensation, the anguish and frustration which preceded his moments of revelation are all caused by the emotional and physical strain of attempting to probe into the fleeting associations of the unconscious mind which can be apprehended only in moments of insight and illumination. These moments do not come at the artist's bidding but are governed by the laws of the unconscious itself. And for both Proust and Mallarmé music was a source of comfort, a perfect expression of the rarified atmosphere of their inspiration, a form of knowledge which transcends thought and sense. Though writing a generation later, Virginia Woolf seems to have resembled, in temperament and inspiration, these writers of the late nineteenth century. She, too, found that her inspiration 'hung in the air in an exciting ecstasy', but could not be reduced to words. Like the Symbolists, she was interested in the philosophy of mind and in states of consciousness, and found it difficult to create novels which conveyed a sense of life and reality. Her inspiration did not fit easily into any one form of art, and her novels are, in fact, filled with characters who find difficulty in expressing their artistic vision in some satisfactory form.

In Rhoda, however, Mrs Woolf has been able to convey a sense of reality, and she has developed the symbolist ideas on the relation of music

to the unconscious mind in a most original fashion. She has not merely adopted the symbol into her own work in an arbitrary manner; in Rhoda its force is lived and felt. In spite of her cryptic utterances, Rhoda is a real character, perhaps the most real of all Virginia Woolf's characters. Had she been a successful artist, had her difficulties been overcome by intuitive creation, she would have taught us less about the process of artistic activity. But because she is like Rimbaud, a seer rather than a poet, because we actually see her sail her *bateau ivre* over the waves of the unconscious mind, we are led to a deeper understanding of this force from which the creative imagination draws its energy and life.

Liverpool.

PETER and MARGARET HAVARD-WILLIAMS.

## Notes and News

### Two 'Difficult' Poems by T. S. Eliot

Anyone who ventures to contribute to the already considerable body of interpretations of T. S. Eliot's poetry must, I suppose, sometimes be haunted by a sense of the anomaly of his position: after all, there is one person who knows all the answers, and who might even some day decide to give them, which would no doubt cause some embarrassment to his commentators, in addition to making their work superfluous. But so many critics have already taken this risk, that one more may be pardoned for taking it again.

The following is an attempt to explain two Eliot cruxes from the *Four Quartets*, viz. the first Movement and the first section of the second Movement of *Burnt Norton*. They can be read and, to a certain extent, understood, apart from the rest of the poem, and are printed below.

#### I

1. Time present and time past
2. Are both perhaps present in time future,
3. And time future contained in time past.
4. If all time is eternally present
5. All time is irredeemable.
6. What might have been is an abstraction
7. Remaining a perpetual possibility
8. Only in a world of speculation.
9. What might have been and what has been
10. Point to one end, which is always present.

11. Footfalls echo in the memory
  12. Down the passage which we did not take
  13. Towards the door we never opened
  14. Into the rose-garden. My words echo
  15. Thus, in your mind.
- But to what purpose
16. Disturbing the dust on a bowl of rose-leaves
  17. I do not know.

Other echoes

18. Inhabit the garden. Shall we follow?
19. Quick, said the bird, find them, find them,
20. Round the corner. Through the first gate,
21. Into our first world, shall we follow
22. The deception of the thrush? Into our first world.
23. There they were, dignified, invisible,
24. Moving without pressure, over the dead leaves,
25. In the autumn heat, through the vibrant air,
26. And the bird called, in response to
27. The unheard music hidden in the shrubbery,
28. And the unseen eyebeam crossed, for the roses
29. Had the look of flowers that are looked at.
30. There they were as our guests, accepted and accepting.
31. So we moved, and they, in a formal pattern,
32. Along the empty alley, into the box circle,
33. To look down into the drained pool.
34. Dry the pool, dry concrete, brown edged,
35. And the pool was filled with water out of sunlight,
36. And the lotos rose, quietly, quietly,
37. The surface glittered out of heart of light,
38. And they were behind us, reflected in the pool.
39. Then a cloud passed, and the pool was empty.
40. Go, said the bird, for the leaves were full of children,
41. Hidden excitedly, containing laughter.
42. Go, go, go, said the bird: human kind
43. Cannot bear very much reality.
44. Time past and time future
45. What might have been and what has been
46. Point to one end, which is always present.

I have never seen any analysis of this that appears to explain it as a whole and to show the symbols employed as forming a coherent pattern, while practically all commentators more or less give up in face of II.<sup>1</sup>

All the *Four Quartets* are largely concerned with various aspects of *time*: escape from time in mystical experiences; the theory of the simultaneity of past, present and future; the problem whether past time is 'irredeemable' (whether e.g. the significance of a past action can be changed by some later action: repentance and spiritual rebirth); the problem of determinism; time as a framework of human life; time in relation to history and language, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to be sure that one has seen all the comments that have appeared, though I believe that I have read all the most important ones. I apologize if I should have overlooked any of which it is not correct to say as above.



*Burnt Norton* opens with a discussion of the problem whether all time is 'eternally present', i.e. whether past, present, and future are simultaneous (lines 1-10). If so, what might have been is 'an abstraction'<sup>2</sup>. 'What might have been and what has been point to one end, which is always present', i.e. the present is determined not only by what we have done in the past, but also by what we have omitted to do, an idea which I think forms a clue to the whole meaning of Movement I.

As is often the case in the *Four Quartets*, Eliot, having made this statement in language almost approaching to that of reasoning prose, proceeds to repeat the same idea in poetical and symbolic language (lines 11-15).

The rest of Movement I describes a scene in the formal garden of a deserted country house. The atmosphere of the garden is peaceful and harmonious: it belongs to a past age, and is contrasted in Movement III with the meaningless, time-bound hurry of present-day life, symbolized by the London tube. The poet walks about the garden accompanied by somebody (he speaks of 'we'), and has an experience of bliss which is outside time and apparent reality. The garden is inhabited by mysterious beings, referred to as 'they'. Children's voices are heard among the leaves.

Helen L. Gardner (Rajan: *T. S. Eliot*) mentions in a footnote that her attention has been called to a certain resemblance between the garden of *Burnt Norton* and the garden of Kipling's story *They*, but she makes no use of this in her interpretation of the general meaning of the poem. No one else seems even to have noticed this resemblance, which must, I suppose, be because the sort of person who reads Eliot is usually not the sort of person who reads Kipling's stories.

I believe that Kipling's story gives the clue to Movement I of *Burnt Norton* and enables us to understand its symbolism as a connected whole. Whether Eliot consciously used it or no, the two obviously have very much in common. In view of his well-known interest in Kipling, he is almost bound to have read the story. The scene in both is the formal garden of a secluded manor house, in which there are box-trees. In both, the garden is inhabited by beings referred to mysteriously as 'they'. In Kipling's story 'they' are the ghosts of children who have died young, and whom their parents can hear playing in the shrubbery, but whom the writer does not actually see. Unseen children also inhabit Eliot's garden. An important point in the present connexion is that the ghost children of *They* are attracted to the garden by its owner, a blind lady whose abiding sorrow is that she has had no children of her own.

I submit that in Eliot's poem 'they' are the children of the might-have-

<sup>2</sup> It is true that, taken apart, lines 6-8, like many statements containing the word 'only', are ambiguous. Preston ('Four Quartets Rehearsed', p. 11) takes them to mean that it is only in the world of speculation that what might have been is a mere abstraction. But in the context, this would clearly make Eliot's statement a non sequitur. What follows from the theory that the past, present, and future are simultaneous is that the might-have-been has no place in the world of reality.

been, and that they symbolize what the protagonist has missed in life: what he would have found 'down the passage which he did not take' (line 12). That the might-have-been is the aspect of *time* with which this particular Movement deals, is quite definitely indicated in the opening and concluding lines (1-11 and 44-46), which thus form a frame round it. The protagonist (not, of course, necessarily the poet himself) is speculating on what his life would have been like if, at some earlier point of time, he had 'opened another door' (line 13). What symbol could be more appropriate to this than that of the children who were never born and had to remain in 'the world of speculation'?

This fits in with 29: 'the roses had the look of flowers that are looked at' (meaning that the garden is not empty, but inhabited by the children), and line 30, which I have never seen satisfactorily explained: 'There they were as our guests, accepted and accepting', which I take to mean that the ghost children know the visitors for their parents, while the latter know that they are their children. This is the only reading I have seen which makes sense of line 31: 'So we moved, and they, in a formal pattern'. That 'they' here should refer to the flowers in line 29 seems to me quite impossible, but it is apparently the only alternative to my reading, and is in fact accepted by some commentators.<sup>3</sup>

The idea of the unborn children is, I believe, continued in symbolic language by the passage about the dry concrete pool, which for a moment seems to be filled with water (lines 33-35). Water, it is well-known, is one of Eliot's favourite symbols for life, and dryness for sterility, and the idea is further emphasized by the passage about the lotus which flowers in the pool (line 36): another fertility symbol.

One thing that at the first reading may render the meaning of the poem obscure is the use of 'you' and 'we', alternating with 'they', in a context where the latter cannot very well refer to the laughing children ('There they were, *dignified*, invisible': line 23). I suggest that 'you' in line 15 refers to the person with whom the protagonist is walking in the garden, and who presumably is the woman who in the might-have-been might have been the mother of his children. 'My words echo thus in your mind' would seem to have little meaning if referring to the reader. 'Disturbing the dust on a bowl of rose-leaves' (line 16) I take to be metaphorical and to mean 'awake an old memory (i.e. of their former love)'.<sup>4</sup> In line 23 'they' refers for once, not to the children, but to the protagonist and his companion. This is not so odd as it might seem: he is looking at their *past* selves from the distance of the present, and sees them as persons different from what they are now. Elsewhere in the *Quartets* Eliot dwells on the idea that our old and our present selves are not identical; thus in *The Dry Salvages* 'Time is no healer. The patient is no longer there'. And 'You are not the same people who left the station, or who will arrive at any terminus'.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Elizabeth Drew, *T. S. Eliot*, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Helen Gardner takes this to refer to a real bowl of rose-leaves in one of the rooms, but the whole of the scene apparently takes place in the garden, and not in the house.

In actual fact, Eliot uses exactly the same alternation of 'we' and 'they' in *La Figlia Che Piange* in a very similar context.

'The unseen eyebeam crossed' (line 28) may of course mean simply that the protagonist and the unseen children look in the direction of each other. But would it be too far fetched to read it as a highly concentrated evocation of the parent-children motif? The protagonist and the woman, while walking in the garden, hear the voices of the children, and look at each other as real parents would in a similar situation: listen, there are our children!

20-23: 'Through the first gate, Into our first world'. I think the idea is something like this: the first world is the protagonist's and the woman's world of childhood and innocence. If 'all time is eternally present', then that world still exists somewhere, a paradise from which they have themselves been driven away. In revisiting it in imagination they find it inhabited by the children of the might-have-been.

22. 'The deception of the thrush'. The call of the bird is deceptive, because 'time is unredeemable' and the might-have-been 'an abstraction'.

24. 'Moving without pressure'. As parents, the visitors belong to the might-have-been too: they are ghosts.

41. 'Containing laughter'. The meaning is, of course, 'keeping back their laughter'.

43. 'Cannot bear very much reality'. The vision is felt as more 'real' than 'real' life.

If my interpretation is accepted, it will thus be seen that the first Movement of *Burnt Norton* deals with one single idea, and that every one of the symbols employed serves to express that idea.

## II

1. Garlic and sapphires in the mud
2. Clot the bedded axle-tree.
3. The trilling wire in the blood
4. Sings below inveterate scars
5. Appeasing long-forgotten wars.
6. The dance along the artery
7. The circulation of the lymph
8. Are figured in the drift of stars
9. Ascend to summer in the tree.
10. We move above the moving tree
11. In light upon the figured leaf
12. And hear upon the sodden floor
13. Below, the boarhound and the boar
14. Pursue their pattern as before
15. But reconciled among the stars.

The symbolism of the first Section of Movement II is so concentrated that it is much more difficult to 'translate' it into ordinary language than Movement I. I think the clue is only to be found by taking it together with the second Section of the Movement. This is too long to quote



here, but its meaning is fairly obvious: it deals with mystical experience in relation to time. This experience is 'out of time', an idea which is conveyed by the metaphor of the central line of an axle, which is at rest when the axle and the wheel themselves are revolving.

Now, it is a common feature of the *Quartets* that each Movement consists of two Sections, which deal with the same idea seen from two different points of view, or expressed in two different kinds of language: 'that was one way of putting it — not very satisfactory' (*East Coker*). It therefore seems likely that our lines also deal with experience detached from time. This is confirmed by the recurrence here of the axle symbol (line 2).

The axle-tree is 'bedded' and 'clotted'.<sup>5</sup> This I take to mean that its movement is retarded, while in the second part of section II it revolves at its usual speed, though leaving its centre at rest. What is meant by its being clotted by 'garlic and sapphires in the mud', I can only guess at. (Eliot's statement to Preston that this is an echo from Mallarmé's 'Tonnerre et rubis aux moyeu'<sup>6</sup> throws no light on it.) Like some other commentators I incline to think that garlic symbolizes the lower, and sapphires the higher, elements in life, which impede the movement of the Wheel, though, like apparently everybody else, I am at a loss to account for the exact reference of the metaphors.

I take it that what the lines describe is one, partial and imperfect, kind of detachment from time and the material world (symbolized by the Wheel): the detachment that can be achieved by age and experience, the way of stoicism as contrasted with the way of mysticism described in the next Section. Given this detachment, the fever in the blood abates. The blood still sings ('trilling' like a telegraph wire) but its song is subdued, because it flows under 'inveterate scars': the wounds caused by our conflicts with the world are healed, and we are less sensitive to its attacks.

Our bodies ('the dance along the artery, the circulation of the lymph') have come to occupy us less, and we see their functions as part of a larger pattern, like the movements of the heavenly bodies and the sap of the trees. Life is seen as from a distance, or a height: as something which takes place 'upon the sodden floor below', and the struggle for existence, the apparent cruelty of a world of hunters and hunted ('the boarhound and the boar' — the picture has a tapestry-like effect which emphasizes its remoteness from direct experience) cease to perplex, and are seen to form part of a more harmonious whole ('reconciled among the stars').

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

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<sup>5</sup> I cannot agree with the commentators (e.g. Drew, p. 190) who believe that these lines continue the description of the deserted garden in I, and that the poet actually sees some kind of vehicle there: the imagery seems far too abstract for that.

<sup>6</sup> Preston, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> 'The dance' is used elsewhere in the *Quartets* to symbolize that which forms part of a significant pattern.

**Middle English Dictionary.** We have received the first instalment (Part E. 1) of the *Middle English Dictionary* (Hans Kurath, Editor; Sherman M. Kuhn, Associate Editor) announced by Dr. G. Storms in the December 1952 number of *English Studies*. It deals with the letter E as far as *endelonges* prep. Here are some specimen entries:

**ei(e)slic** adj. Also *ezeslice*; cp. *eielich*. [OE *egeslic*.] Arousing fear or fright, terrible. a1121 *Peterb. Chron.* an.1109; Ðises geares gewurdon swiðe fela þunra, & þa swiðe ægeslice. c1150 (OE) *Hrl.HApul.* 75.20/1: Heo hyne scyldeð. . wyð ezeslice zesihþum & swefenum. a1175(?OE) *Bod.Hom.* 126/18: Ðær bið ezeslic toðene grind. *Ibid.* 122/13: Hit þuhte eft æfter þam moniže tyddrum modum swiðe ezeslic. a1225(OE) *Lamb.Hom. Pentec.* 87: Muchel liht and eislic swei and blawende beman. a1225(?c1175) *PMor.* (Trin-C) 285: Pat beð ateliche fiend and eiseliche [vrr. eiliche, grysliche, aterliche] wihten. a1225(?a1200) *Trin.Hom.* 67: Ðe eiseliche shame. . þat alle synfulle men shule þolen on domes dai.

**elles** conj. [From adv.] 1. If only, provided that, so long as; also **elles that**. c1400 (?c1380) *Cleanness* 466: Ðe raven. . þat reches ful lyttel How alle fodez þer fare, ellez he fynde mete. *Ibid.* 705: Wel nyže pure paradyz mozt preue no better, Ellez þay mozt honestly ayper oþer welde. c1400(?c1390) *Gawain* 295: I schal stonde hym a strok stif on þis flet, Ellez þou wyl dizt me þe dom to dele hym an oþer. 2. Unless. a1425(?a1400) *Cloud* 58/20: Nouþer he rechip. . wheþer þat he be in peyne or in blisse, elles þat his wille be fulfyllid. c1450(?a1400) *Wars Alex.* 4671: Els 3e may cast 3ow to be coynt, 3e count for na ferrir.

**elleswhan** adv. At another time. (?1418) *Will* in *Bk.Lond.E.* 221/18: Or ellys whan quan hem lest to remeve þens.

**elleswhat** pron. & adv. [OE *elles hwæt*.]  
1. Anything else;--pron. a1250 *Lofsong Louerde* 215: Of þet ase of helles hwat iwurðe þi wille euer. 2. Otherwise;--adv. c1450(?a1400) *Wars Alex.* 4557: Queþir þai here or els-quat, it hurtis ay þe saule.

A review will soon appear.

**English Studies in Sweden.** Dr. Alarik Rynell, a former docent in the University of Lund, has been appointed Professor of English in the University of Stockholm.

**P. J. H. O. Schut** †. We regret to announce the death, on December 2, 1952, of Mr. P. J. H. O. Schut, who for many years edited the Translation Supplement of *English Studies*. Together with Professor Zandvoort, he brought out the revised fourteenth edition of Ten Bruggencate's *English-Dutch and Dutch-English Dictionary*. He possessed an unrivalled knowledge of English lexicography.

## Reviews

*Die Englische Sprache. Ihre Geschichtliche Entwicklung.* Von KARL BRUNNER. Erster Band. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag. XIX, 352 pp. 1950. DM 12.— (geb. 13.80). — Zweiter Band. Idem, 1951. 424 pp. DM 13.— (geb. 14.80).

The spate of outline works on the history of the English language that have appeared of late (e.g. by McKnight, Stuart Robinson, Baugh, Jungandreas, Bøgholm, Mossé and Wrenn) points to a growing interest in this field of study. It scarcely needs to be said that, although all of them treat the subject from a different angle and in many points supplement each other, the subject is not nearly exhausted. And so Professor Karl Brunner's contribution cannot but be warmly welcomed.

It distinguishes itself in the first place from its predecessors, who mainly focus their observations on the external aspect of the history of the English language, by devoting lavish attention to its internal aspect as well. Conceived as a handbook for students, the two volumes offer, as comprehensively as the eight hundred and odd pages allow, a clear and admirably arranged survey of all the relevant phenomena, incorporating at the same time the results of recent investigation. The profuseness of material, the lucidity of exposition and the wealth of examples fill the reader with admiration and respect for the vast erudition, the profound scholarship and the almost youthful industry of the Innsbruck 'heah-lareow'.

It is impossible in this review to point out the multitudinous excellencies of the work, among which are to be reckoned the interesting chapter on non-European English, and the numerous references to other publications for the benefit of those students who wish to follow particular points. A mere enumeration of the subjects discussed may therefore suffice. The first volume deals with: I The Origin of the English language; II Related languages; III Dialects; IV Foreign influences: A. Scandinavian, B. The Norman Conquest; C. Other influences; V & IV The vowels and consonants. The second volume is concerned with VII The flexional forms and their functions: A. Nouns, B. Adjectives and adverbs, C. Numerals, D. Pronouns, E. Verbs, and VIII The English language outside Europe. A very helpful 'Sachregister' brings the book to a close.

With a view to a second edition the following observations may be welcome.

The linguistic sections are treated on strictly conservative lines: there is no trace of any influence of either the Geneva, Prague, Yale or Copenhagen schools (apart from a mere mention of the term 'phoneme' in three places in volume II). This is perhaps defensible by referring to the fact that the battle around the exact purport of the newly-introduced terms has not nearly come to an end, and that anything like a consensus is still far



to seek; yet, one would hardly expect such terms as 'Futurum exactum' (p. 283 II), 'Infinitiv der Vergangenheit' (p. 316 II), 'umschriebene Partizipia' (p. 339 II), 'Infinitive Perfekti' (p. 339 II) in a book on English appearing in the age of structural and glossematic linguistics.

Then there are the inconsistencies in several statements relating to Case. On p. 41 II the author rightly says: "'Dativ" und "Akkusativ" sind ... Bezeichnungen für Flexionsformen, nicht für syntaktische Begriffe'. Yet we read (p. 10 II) that the language possesses means to denote 'Kasusbeziehungen', (p. 32 II) that the genitive can be used in the 'meaning' (Bedeutung) of an objective genitive, (p. 42 II) that 'die heutige Wortstellung von zwei bei einem Verbum stehenden Objekten nicht als Kennzeichen des verschiedenen Kasus der beiden Objekte anzusehen ist', and (p. 322 II) that the noun which in a compound of the type *godspelbodung* precedes the form in *-ung* is in the nominative, whereas it is in the oblique case when it follows the form in *-ing*, as e.g. in the type *þe taking þe coroune*. And what about (p. 1 II): 'die Aufgabe von Flexionsendungen hat dazu geführt, die Beziehungen der Wörter zueinander durch andere Mittel zu kennzeichnen, und nur solche unbezeichnet zu lassen, die dem Sprachgefühl unnötig erschienen.'? 'Beziehungen ... die dem Sprachgefühl unnötig erschienen' (relations which seemed unnecessary to the linguistic feeling) does not seem to make sense.

On p. XI the author gives the sound-values of the phonetic symbols used by him to indicate modern English pronunciation. In the body of the book (Vol I), however, an additional number of symbols occur (such as [ei] p. 243, 246, 253, [F] p. 339, [3:] p. 192, [o] p. 177, [æ:] p. 281, [o:] p. 278, [a] p. 281, [e:] p. 249, [ʌ] p. 313 and [u u] p. 246) without the reader being told what they stand for. And is it not confusing for the uninitiated to find the pronunciation denoted according to two different systems: with square brackets for modern English, without these for Old and Middle English, so that he is confronted with e.g. (p. 274) 'er, ir und ur sind ... in [æ:] zusammengefallen'? Moreover, the pronunciation of Old and Middle English vowels and consonants is not given, the student apparently being supposed to know when the spellings of Old and Middle English words are phonetic and when not. On p. 244 it is said that [e] = Me e, and on p. 258 that Me e remained unchanged, yet on p. 275 we read: 'die normale Entwicklung von e zu [ɛ]'. Similarly on p. 213: 'frühme. æ wurde zu [ɛ]'. Then there is the contradiction between the statement on p. XI that [ei] stands for the vowel in modern English *fate* and that on p. 249 I which gives [ei] as the normal pronunciation in this word and [ei] as belonging to the 'Londoner Vulgärsprache'.

On the maps (pp. 91 & 107 I) of Me dialects South Pembrokeshire is not included.

On p. 115 I it is said that conclusions as to the pronunciation of Middle English words may sometimes be drawn from words in foreign languages borrowed from English, and that 'In betracht kommen vor allem die ins Französische, Deutsche und Wallisische aufgenommene englische Wörter'. Why 'vor allem'? The number of English loanwords in Dutch is considerable.

To the statement on p. 118 I: 'Selbst das Keltische hat nur ein paar Wörter zum englischen Wortschatz beigesteuert' it might have been added that present-day South Pembrokeshire has endenized a not inconsiderable number of Welsh words.

In the bibliography on p. 129 I no mention is made of B. G. Charles's important *Non-Celtic Place-names in Wales*, Kendal, 1938.

The suggestion on p. 140 I that the disappearance of the passive construction with *weorþan* might be due to North-Germanic influence is rendered doubtful by the fact that this usage was still very much alive in the 14th and 15th centuries. Neither can

the fact that the 'Bedeutungsunterschied' between the construction with *beon* and that with *weorþan* 'nicht ganz deutlich ist' have been the cause of its becoming obsolete, since other Germanic languages (e.g. Dutch, German) have preserved it. Is it not more plausible to think of French influence?

The statement on p. 157 I: 'die (franz.) palatalen ("mouillierten") *l* und *n* ... wurden durch normal artikulierte *l* und *n* ersetzt' needs some qualification, with a view to such words as *ignorant*, *signifien*, *magnifien*, etc.

In the bibliography on p. 184 I (influence of French on English) we miss A. A. Prins, *French Phrases in English*, Neophilologus XXXII (1948) 1 & 2.

With a view to the fact that the 'Flemings' who settled in West Wales in the 12th century are called a 'nacion' by contemporary and later Middle English writers ('be sevene people in þe ylond' Trevisa) some doubt seems justified as to (p. 185 I): 'Geschlossene Niederlassungen fremder Volksgruppen auf den britischen Inseln haben nach der normannischen Eroberung nicht mehr stattgefunden.'

On p. 188 I we read: 'Ueber reine Nachahmung hinaus wurde aber in 17., 18. und auch im 19. Jahrhundert die lateinische Grammatik als Richtschnur des englischen Ausdrucks angesehen ... Es ist ... sehr gut möglich, dasz die Bildung ... eines Futurum exactums (*when I shall have read the book*) lateinischem Vorbild entspringt.' This may give the impression that the origin of the group *shall have* + past participle dates from the 17th, 18th or 19th century, especially because p. 283 it is stated that 'die Entwicklung der Verbindung von *shall* oder *will* mit dem Infinitiv Perfekti erst der ne. Zeit angehört (Der Bibelübersetzung von 1611 und Shakespeare sind sie z.B. noch unbekannt)'. Cf., however: c1374 Chaucer, Boece V, 1924, 'than schal I voiden the purveyaunce I *schal han chaungid* the thingis that he knoweth byforn'; c1400 Three M. E. Sermons (ed. Grisdale) 4, 91, 'e this preyer *ze schal ha recomendid* al þe clergise'; idem 53, 86, '*ze schal ha recommended* al þe states of holi chirche'; idem 24, 90; 25, 96; 1500 Three Kings' Sons (EETS) 36, 17, 'And if he can not wele the manere, y beleue he *shall sone haue lerned*.' In the beginning of the 16th century the usage had already become established: St. Th. More, Wks. 506 B3, 'when the lord thy god *shal have destroyed* before thy face the gentiles ...'; idem 154 H10, 'we shal retourne agayne after to him and loke what he *shal haue founden*.'

It is not hard to adduce a number of quotations rebutting the statement (p. 188 I): 'Me. ist dieser Gebrauch (scil. of the type *be Diocletiane lyfzendum*) ganz selten, wird aber von der Mitte des 17. Jahrh. an ohne Präposition ganz gewöhnlich, wie *everything considered, this being the case*.'; 13.. Legend Holy Rood (Morris) E6, 'gif cearl acwyle *be libbendum wife and beorne*, riht is ðæt ...'; a 1400 Stanzaic Life of Christ 3613, 'This *zer at aungeles forwarning* come Jhesu azayn to Jude.'; 13.. Rich. Rolle (?), tr. Petri Blenensis (Horstm. II) 47, 25, 'þai might haue fallen; but *helpand god þai ne felle not*.'; c1380 Wyclif, Sel. Wks. III, 115, 'He becom man, *stondynge his godhed*, þat he myzt not lese.'; 1390 Gower, C. A. 1723, 'He tok upon him all thing of malice, and of tirannie ... *Livende his fader*.'; 1450 Lovelich's Merlin 4544, 'he wolde it not were asayed, *Merlyne levynge*.' Both constructions, with and without preposition, are very common in St. Th. More and contemporaries.

In the bibliography on p. 245 I A. A. Prins's *The Great Vowel Shift* (Groningen 1940) is not mentioned.

To say that 'ein Zusammenfall verschiedener Phoneme in der Sprachentwicklung meist vermieden wird' is to represent a linguistic development as a *conscious* act of the speakers, which view is now generally abandoned. Moreover, such coalescences as of M.E. [e:] and [e:] in Mod.E. [i:], and of M.E. [ou] and [o:] in Mod.E. [ou] contradict the statement to a considerable degree.

No definition is given of the terms 'geschlossene' and 'offene Silben' (p. 237 I). Do [oupn], [eibl] and [ritn] contain 'open' or 'closed' syllables?

Since the difference between e.g. the allophones [ə] in [əgou] (ago) and [beikə] (baker) is not conditioned by 'Satzintonation', the statement on p. 244 I regarding this phenomenon requires further qualification.

It may be doubted whether the second constituent of the diphthong which is heard when [u:] is slightly diphthongised is characterised by a higher tongue position ('höhere Zungenstellung' p. 246 I) than the first. According to Daniel Jones, *An Outline of Eng. Phonetics* 1932, p. 83, this diphthongization takes the form of a gradual increase of the lip-rounding.

On p. 263 I the pronunciation of *cough* and *trough* is said to be [kɔ:f] and [trɔ:f]. The pronunciation with [ɔ] is equally, and according to Jones, *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1937) even more usual. *Laudanum* (p. 266 I) is not pronounced with [ɔ:] but with [ɔ]. (Correct on p. 283 I.)

Instead of '[ə] steht für a in *China, sofa*' it seems advisable to read: 'a in *China, sofa* steht für [ə]' (p. 302 I).

The statement (p. 295 I): 'Nie abgeschwacht wird [ju:] für u in offener Silbe [ju:nait], etc.', seems rebutted by the transcriptions with [u] (besides [u:]) of similar words in Jones's *Pronouncing Dictionary*.

The statement (p. 26 II): 'Ae. ist of noch bei allen Verben üblich' (to indicate the 'Urheber' in passive constructions) seems to be contradictory to that on p. 37 II: 'Ae. wird er sonst mit *purh* oder *fram* bezeichnet, me. zuerst mit of.'

Throughout the whole book where points of modern syntax come up for discussion and where numerous references to publications on the particular subjects are inserted, references to such works as Poutsma's *Grammar of Late Modern English*, Kruisinga's *Handbook of Present Day English* and Zandvoort's *Handbook of English Grammar* are conspicuous by their absence. Especially where the author aims at (but does not achieve) a comprehensive treatment this omission is regrettable. Thus, regarding the use of the genitive forms (pp. 31-37 II) the reader will find more enlightening and up-to-date information in Kruisinga (§§ 825-915) and Zandvoort (§§ 267-315) than in the works mentioned by Brunner.

On p. 36 II *seccgan* and *folgian* are mentioned among the verbs that were intransitive in Old English ('sagen, raten, antworten, gehorchen, folgen, helfen, nützen'). What about: Juliana 84, 'þas word ðe ðu me sagast'; Luke XII, 16, 'þa sæde he him sum bigspell'; Matt. XXVI, 58, 'Petrus folgade hine feorran'? (See moreover the author's own instance of a passive construction with *folgian* on p. 40 II.)

On p. 37 II we read: 'Einige Fälle von Ergänzungen ohne Präposition, also in der Verwendung des ae. Instrumentalis, als Ausdruck des Mittels, finden sich noch me., z.B. *his owne honde he made laddres thre*.' — This idiom survived much longer. It is frequent in St. Th. More. (See Visser,



*A Syntax of the Engl. Lang. of St. Th. More* I, 1946 p. 121), e.g. Wks 698, 'he would *hys owne mouth* giue his church a law'; 218, 'she hong herself *her own handes*'. In Ben Jonson: Volpone II, iii, 'I will make thee an anatomy, Dissect thee *mine own self*'.

On p. 41 II the type 'He was banished the realm' is discussed. From the absence of historical data, (here as well as in many more cases) it might erroneously be inferred that the type sprang up in recent times. As a matter of fact it was in use in all periods of English and goes back to Old English: Ælfric, Gen. XLIII, 14, 'ic eam nu bereafod minra'; c1450 tr. De Imitatione III, xlv, 'Some Pierre of Englande that is bannished hys country'; 1660 Pepys's Diary (ed. Braybrooke) Aug. 23, 'Pett... should be suspended his employment'; 1648 Hunting of Fox 11, 'Yet were they... expell'd the University'. The statement, too: 'Im Aktivum werden diese Ergänzungen allerdings nicht in der einfachen Stammform, sondern mit Präpositionen (*of, from*) gegeben, z. B. *The authorities expelled him from the school*' holds good for modern English only, for formerly there were no prepositions in these constructions: St. Th. More. Wks. 25 A3, 'death ... Shall vs bereue wealthe, riches and honowre'; Fielding, Tom Jones I, 230, 'he was resolved to banish him his sight for ever'.

The following definitions (P. 45/46) are unsatisfactory: 'Der Akkusativ drückt aus, dasz der in ihm stehende Nominalbegriff eine Veränderung durch eine Handlung erleidet'; 'das direkte Objekt, welches die Veränderung erleidet'. For one thing, a 'Begriff' or an object (instead of the person or thing denoted by the object) can hardly undergo a change by means of an action; for another, it follows from the definition that 'a house' in 'I built a house', and 'father' in 'I saw my father' are not direct objects, since neither house or father undergo a change on account of the action.

Is it as certain as the author makes out (p. 48 II), that such complements to the verbal idea as 'sum dæl weges' in 'hæfdæn sum dæl weges zefaren' are adverbial adjuncts, and not objects? Some doubt is justified in view of such passive constructions as occur in the following instances: c1360 Cloud of Unknowing (EETS) 10, 15, 'þe heilze... wey to heuen is ronpe bi desires'; 1642 W. Price, Sermon, 4, 'Men use to go ... not the way that should be gone, but that way which is most gone'.

To the statement on p. 49 II: 'Adjektiva können zwar als Substantiva verwendet werden, aber nicht umgekehrt Substantiva als Adjektiva', the author omits to add that it is only applicable to Old English. Cf. p. 76 II.

Without probative data it is hard to believe that the following assertion is correct: 'Die Zahl der Verba, welche mit einer solchen adjektivischen prädikativen Ergänzung verbunden werden (scil. 'copulas'), ist ne. weit grösser als früher.' The following list of Middle English 'copulas' (certainly not yet complete) is imposing enough to set one doubting: *abide, be, become, bileve* (= remain), *can, come, dwell, fall, go, grow, hove* (= remain), *lenge* (= remain), *look, prove, rest, turn, þurhwunien, wax, worthen* (O.E. *weorpan*), *wunien*, to say nothing of the great number of 'quasi-copulas' such as *stand, lie, play* etc. A few examples may suffice: 13th c. Passion of Our Lord, 185, 'Letep þeos *bilieuen* hol and isunde'; c1200 Vices & V. 73, 'gif he *belæfð* hal and zesund'; c1350 Stanzaic Life of Christ (EETS) 5141, 'in what lond ... that he made any officer, he suffert hom so *lenging*'; c1300 Curs. M. (Cott.) 66, þe stern ... *can vnkuth*' (= became invisible); 1366 Maundev. XXVIII, 289, 'The Coles willen *duellen* and *abiden* quyk'; 1390 Gower, C. A. II, 3007, 'This knight, which *hoved* ... Embuissshed upon horse bak'; 1472-5 Rolls of Parl. VI, 159, 2,

'the defeate *resteth* and *abideth* uncorrected' (OED); 1488 Naval Acc. Hen. VII (1896), 81, 'The said William ... *restith* accomptable to the Kyng' (OED); c1200 Vices & V, 55, 17, 'þat ic scolde ... bien godes sunes moder, and ec æure *ðurh-wunizen* maiden'; c1300 Curs. M. (Fairf.) 11615, 'þen come þe propheci alle clere'.

In the discussion of the use of the 'prop-word' *one* (p. 74 II) the absence of references to the grammars of Kruisinga (§§ 1261-1304 & 1789-1826) and Zandvoort (§§ 517-529 & 781-795) is regrettable, since the treatment is rather fragmentary, disjointed and sometimes inaccurate. The last adjective is applicable e.g. to the statements: 'Im heutigen Sprachgebrauch ist ... der substantivische Gebrauch von Adjektiven ohne Beifügung solcher "Stützwörter" weitgehend eingeschränkt und nur mehr üblich: a) Im Plural mit dem bestimmten Artikel als Sammelname für alle Angehörigen einer Volksgruppe, eine Berufes u.dgl. wie *the blind*'; 'Im Singular ist der Gebrauch dieser Adjektiva als Substantiva nicht mehr üblich, man gebraucht sie nur mit *man* oder *person*, wiederaufnehmend mit *one*'. — What about: 'two hundred killed', 'seven hundred wounded', 'our poor', 'the accused's character', 'the deceased's friends', 'one Italian', 'you're a silly', 'you're a dear', 'a new host of workless', 'no Irish need apply', 'these Swiss', 'certain English say', 'sermons delivered to religious in monasteries' etc., etc.?

It is hard to follow the author when he says (p. 79 II): 'in *I am poor* ist *poor* Prädikat (auf die Frage 'was?'), aber in ... *I am alive* (ist) *alive* adverbielle Ergänzung (auf die Frage 'wie?')'.

On p. 107 II we read: 'Diese Verba (scil. such as *þyncean* in *hit þynceþ me*) wurden im Laufe der me. Zeit in persönlich konstruierte Verba übergeleitet, wobei das Dativobjekt der Person Subjekt wird, also *I like*, usw.' Ought not it to have been pointed out that the object of the 'impersonal' construction is very frequently in the accusative (and not in the dative)? This is very important, since it is one of the arguments that can be used in the 'explanation' of the transition of 'impersonal' to 'personal' constructions, nominatives and accusatives being indistinguishable in the majority of O.E. nouns. Instances are: Blickl. Hom. 51, '*hine* ne lyst his willan wyrcan'; idem 227, 1, '*hine* langode'; idem 113, 15, '*þa* ongan *hine* langian'; Ælfred, C. P. I, 1, '*þa* woroldlecas scomað, þæt ...'; idem I. 36, '*Hine* þyrste'; Lindesf. Gosp., John VI, 35, 'Se ðe cymes to me hyngreð *hine*'.

Regarding the use of *it* in the type 'I think it of importance to inform him of my plans' (p. 109 II) there are no historical data, which absence may give the impression that the usage sprang up in modern English. Cf., however: Mandeville 164, 15, 'bei ... holden *it* for a gret synne to casten a knyf in the fuyre'.

On p. 112 II it is said: 'Zu Anfang des 15. Jahrh. überwiegen sie (scil. single personal pronouns as reflexive objects) noch, zu ende sind sie bereits in der Minderzahl'. — St. Th. More for one has about as many simple as compound reflexive pronouns. (See Visser, *A Syntax of the Engl. Lang. of St. Th. More* I, p. 201.)

In the section on possessive pronouns (p. 115 II) the remarkable O.E. combination of possessive and demonstrative pronouns before the noun is not mentioned: Blickl. Hom. 151, 23, '*min* se halga Petrus'; idem 151, 23, 'Aris þu, *min* seo nehsta'; idem 157, 1, 'heo is *þin* seo clæneste fæmne'; idem 163, 3, 'seo heora iugob'; idem 163, 10; 167, 31 etc.

Why is there no instance (p. 127 II) of the use of the definite article before a vocative in O.E.? (e.g. Blickl. Hom. 'Men *þa* leofa', *passim*.)

(To be concluded.)

*Parataxis and Hypotaxis as a Criterion of Syntax and Style, especially in Old English Poetry.* By ALARIK RYNELL. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd 48. Nr 3.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1952. 60 pp. Kr. 6:—.

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of parataxis and hypotaxis, and generally of the relations between principal and subordinate clauses; and in the light of this examination to consider the historical and stylistic significance of the differences of sentence-structure observable in OE. between prose and verse and between works of differing periods. Dr. Rynell makes it plain that the trend is from a predominantly paratactic type to one increasingly hypotactic, though the development is swifter in prose than in verse; and he scrupulously assesses the influences which, independently of the inherent evolutionary tendency of the language, have contributed to the sentence-structure of the main OE. literary records.

There are some details of treatment and presentation that one would like to see more carefully handled. The survey of varying uses of the terms parataxis and hypotaxis involves a brief statement of the arguments whether the categories of grammar should be logical, psychological or formal. Validity is attributed to all three (pp. 5, 7); though subsequently chief place is yielded by implication to considerations of form (e.g. p. 17). There is no reasoned attempt to reconcile these views; nor is the relevant distinction drawn between the synchronic study of grammar, in which the categories must be purely formal, and the diachronic, in which the logical and psychological influences which have partly contributed to the shaping of the formal categories must be considered. Further, in the maze of varying scholarly usages, each bearing the unsupported authority of one man, it would have been useful to quote, and perhaps to take as a starting-point, the indisputably authoritative definitions of OED., (which are purely formal).

Dr. Rynell goes on to discuss the various means of subordination, laying valuable stress on the importance of phonetic methods, which have often been neglected. They are only too frequently the lost but essential clue to the nature of a clause in OE. poetry. In such cases we can do no better than guess on the evidence of the context, and Dr. Rynell recognises that in this extremity scholars have been too apt to rely on 'their modern linguistic sense and usage, which are not always the same as those of an earlier stage of language' (p. 24). The point is important; and it may be illuminating to compare OE. poetic usage in the linking of clauses with that in the linking of words in compounds. Commonly elements were juxtaposed in a kenning without indication of the nature of their relationship with one another. Except for special effect, we have now abandoned this multi-faceted associative terseness for a more specific, but stylistically limper, expression of the relationship. It is certainly possible that something parallel has happened in the development of sentence-structure.



One must take issue with Dr. Rynell over several statements in his discussion of the conditions favouring parataxis. On p. 31 he claims that one of these is poetic form; he distinguishes poetry from prose by a series of criteria (repeated on p. 43) which would largely disqualify at least Chaucer, Milton and Pope from the name of poet. But whatever the distinctive qualities of poetry may be, it is not poetry in general that favours parataxis: indeed, on the same page the author quotes Barstow's observation of the 'close agreement in the construction of sentences' between the prose of King Alfred and the *Lyrical Ballads*, and refers to the agreement as a 'similarity between the language of poetry and colloquial speech' (p. 32). The truth is that it is specifically OE. poetry that by the elaborateness of its technique favoured, not parataxis as such, but the preservation of existing sentence-patterns, and delayed the assimilation of innovations. OE. prose, on the other hand, lacking a literary tradition, modelled its sentence-structure more freely, if haltingly, on that of Latin.

Again on p. 31 occur two curious sentences: 'To the poet one word is hardly less important than another, every word having, as it were, an individual life of its own; hence, small words like particles would not suit him very well.' To all artists in words, whether they write verse or prose, every word has in some sense 'an individual life of its own'; but no-one could write who assigned equal importance to all these lives, and in particular the existence of accentual verse depends on an ordered use of the acknowledged variations in importance. Similarly, we are told, the poet 'does not want to convey the impression, implied, according to popular belief, in the distinction between principal and subordinate clauses, that one clause is more important than another'. But the ability to use complex sentences is a sign of mature style alike in prose or verse, though technically it may be more difficult in verse. From Chaucer to the present day it is found most commonly in those poets who have been the most sophisticated verse-craftsmen; on Dr. Rynell's hypothesis it is they who would most anxiously shun it.

On p. 33 OE. poetry is divided into two classes, each defined by a fairly complex grouping of criteria. For the purpose of a study of sentence-structure the distinction between popular composition and the more highly wrought aristocratic technique is relevant; so is a further distinction among works in the latter class between poetry meant for recitation and that meant for reading (so far as it can be determined). But the two kinds of criteria do not coincide, and the conjunction of them, together with yet other qualities, produces a portmanteau classification of little value because so few of the surviving works fit cleanly into it.

It remains to note, if it may be done without ungenerosity, that the author is not always perfectly at home with the English language. What is referred to on p. 39 as 'Popular Latin' is in fact 'generally known' as Vulgar Latin. From time to time there is an unhappy choice of idiom or construction and too light a punctuation. But since Dr. Rynell uses our language with the discipline of an acquired skill, we are all the mo'

in his debt for an investigation which has required equal keenness of analytical logic and stylistic perception, and which explores a field where relatively few English scholars have ventured.

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*Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries.* Edited by R. H. ROBBINS. Oxford: Clarendon Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 1952. lv + 331 pp. 18/—.

This collection of secular lyrics is a complement to Professor Carleton Brown's *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (1932), *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (1924) and *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* (1939). It contains 212 poems from 114 MSS. Of these poems 57 had never been published before. The text is based on a first-hand examination of the MSS, and just as the other collections mentioned above were occasioned by an examination of the MSS in the course of the preparation of Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* (1916, 1920), this work was occasioned by Brown and Robbins's *Index of Middle English Verse* (1943).

In an admirable introduction Professor Robbins points out how subordinate a position the secular lyric occupies during this period in relation to the religious lyric: for every secular lyric there are three or four religious ones. This, he thinks, is not entirely due to the destruction or loss of MSS, but rather to the dominant position of religion during the period. Only towards the end of the fifteenth century does the secular lyric become more popular. Of the popular poetry of the time much, however, must inevitably have been lost. After a survey of the chief manuscript sources, the editor discusses the various genres and the metrical forms of which the authors availed themselves. He draws attention to the fact that after the thirteenth-century Harley Lyrics, which he considers the greatest achievement of all Middle English poetry, there is a gap of about a hundred years in the collections of secular poetry, and its continuity has to be inferred from fragments.

The material is divided into four main groups, each of which is again subdivided according to the subject matter. The first section comprises Popular Songs, consisting of rhymes of the minstrels, drinking songs, love songs and popular songs proper. The second consists of practical verse, such as charms, poems about the almanack and the body, and gnomic verse. The third contains occasional verse. Among these poems there are three cleverly contrived specimens of punctuation poems, such as are better known from *Ralph Royster Doyster* and the letter in *Twelfth Night*. The

fourth and largest group consists wholly of courtly lyrics, among which five poems by Charles d'Orleans and three by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. Both these poets wrote in French and in English.

The poems written for the court, for moneyed merchants and for the clergy are mostly in rhyme royal and the ballade stanza, or, if for practical use, in couplets or quatrains. The popular poems are often in quatrains or the tail-rhyme stanza.

Whereas the Harley lyrics show considerable direct French influence, this influence is almost wholly absent in the popular poems in this collection. As to the other poems, though the editor admits such influence in Chaucer and Gower (and we might add poems like *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain*) and in certain poems in the Vernon and Simeon MSS, he thinks there is no strong French influence in the fourteenth century collections. Yet, poems like *A Pitiless Mistress* (139), *A Roundel* (170), the macaronic *Sweeting, I greet Thee* (172), the ballade of *The Ten Commandments of Love* (177), *To his Mistress, Flower of Womanhood* (190) and the poems by d'Orleans and Suffolk certainly do betray such influence.

Some of the poems are very good, such as the witty *Mocking Letter to her Lover* (208) and *The Lover's Mocking Reply* (209). Among the popular poems there are some which are extremely outspoken, such as numbers 28, 29, 30 and 31. None of these poems have the haunting beauty of some of the Harley lyrics, yet poems like *Maiden in the mor lay* (18) or *The Banished Lover* (20) betray true poetic feeling. The courtly lyrics for the most part lack real fervour and spontaneity. Even *Farewell Poems* like 204 and 205 are full of clichés, though the first is a good deal better than the second.

The work contains a useful glossary and notes.

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*Geschichte des englischen Theaters.* By RUDOLF STAMM. Bern: A. Francke. 1951. 483 pp. Gb. S.fr. 28.80; Br. S.fr. 24.50.

*The English Stage 1850—1950.* By LYNTON HUDSON. London: Harrap. 1951. 223 pp. 10/6 net.

Professor Stamm's book, a very full and detailed account of the English drama and theatre, is presumably intended for a German-reading public first and foremost. Not only is it written in German, but all quotations from plays, documents and critical or biographical works, except those in verse, are translated into that language. It is very thorough, very well proportioned and, spanning a period of something like a thousand years, traces out the development of theatrical representations in England from the early tropes

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and simple liturgical plays up to such recent productions as T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party* and Christopher Fry's *The Lady's Not for Burning*. The approach is historical rather than critical (though criticism is not altogether absent), and the keynote of the work is 'unity'. Professor Stamm has sought to show English drama as an organic growth or evolutionary process in which playwrights, actors, audiences, and the spirit of the age have all played their part. He has sought, too, to connect it very closely with English life. His book must surely be the most detailed and exhaustive, as well as the most up-to-date account that has yet appeared outside the English-speaking countries, and for many years ahead should rank as a standard work amongst Continental students.

The author is, of course, deeply indebted to the works of Sir E. K. Chambers and Professor Allardyce Nicoll, as any writer on the subject is bound to be, but with the material gained from these is combined a vast amount of information from other sources. It only needs a glance at the notes to make us realise how extensive has been Professor Stamm's reading: it embraces British, American and Continental publications, the older as well as the more recent; pamphlets and articles in periodicals, as well as books and published theses; and he has digested, collated and arranged the material so gained in a masterly fashion. He has all his facts at his fingers' ends and can give chapter and verse for most of his statements. His book, too, is well indexed, though there is perhaps one deficiency. Editions of the major dramatists like Ben Jonson, Dryden, Congreve, Goldsmith and Sheridan are well enough known, but some indication of recent editions or reprints of the works of lesser playwrights might have been useful. For instance, a student wishing to read Frederick Reynolds' *The Dramatist*, George Colman's *The Jealous Wife*, Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him*, Mrs Inchbald's *Everyone Has His Fault* or Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough*, several of which are referred to in the text, might have been grateful for the information that all are to be found in the World's Classics volume *Lesser English Comedies of the Eighteenth Century*.

The plan of Professor Stamm's work is a chronological one, as, of course, it was bound to be, though the emphasis is differently placed in different periods. In the section dealing with the Middle Ages the treatment is according to types of plays; from Elizabethan times to the end of the eighteenth century it is rather by dramatists; in the nineteenth century it centres very largely upon the theatres and the great actors, while in the twentieth the actor-manager is placed more prominently to the fore. But always Professor Stamm's interest is in the drama as an art-form and a product of the co-operation of playwright, actor, producer and public.

Although, as we have said above, the book is intended primarily for Continental students, there is much in it that should be of interest to English readers, particularly in matters of detail. There is, for example, a full description of the setting for an early performance of *The Castle of Perseverance*, while the piracy of plays in Elizabethan times, the

organisation of acting companies, and the rise of opposition to the theatre in the days before the Commonwealth, are treated at greater length than is usual in such works. There is a particularly good section on the Masque; and the bibliography includes several monographs and critical works that are not well known to English students unless they happen to be specialists.

Apart from its thoroughness, the distinctive merits of Professor Stamm's work are fourfold, viz.

(i) He relates the drama of each age to contemporary life, thought, fashions and interests. Thus he draws a comparison between the Morality Plays and the late mediaeval vogue of moral allegory as exemplified in other literature of the time, and then, in the Elizabethan section, goes on to show how, as a result of the Renaissance and the rise of Protestantism, the older emphasis on the God-Man relationship which lay at the back of so much of the literature and the thought of the Middle Ages, gave place to a newer one which stressed the Man-Man relationship, which became a distinctive theme, in one form or another, of many of the plays of the time, especially of the tragedies. Similarly he suggests that the general decline of English drama in the eighteenth century is closely connected with the tendency to speculate and theorise about life that marked that age. One curious omission in this respect is that no mention is made of the vogue of the biographical play which was so marked a characteristic of the twenties and the early thirties of the present century. Strangely enough it saw its hey-day just at the time when in other fields of life and literature, under the influence of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, debunking of the great was a fashionable pastime. It would have been interesting to have Professor Stamm's observations upon this fact and upon the significance of the type as a whole.

(ii) From Restoration times onwards attention is given to the various Shakespeare adaptations and to the revival of older plays as well as the production of new ones. This is important, for it helps to give an indication of the tastes and interests of the times; and it is as well to be reminded that for well over a hundred years several Shakespearean plays (usually those which were most popular) were rarely, if ever, seen by a British audience in the form in which they were originally written.

(iii) The bibliography is as up-to-date as such a list could be, allowing for the time that nowadays must elapse between the writing of a book and its publication.

(iv) There is a wealth of excellently produced illustrations, many of them little known to the general student of drama. The most interesting is perhaps that of the model of the Globe Theatre, constructed in 1947 in the English Seminar of the University of Basel under the direction of Professor Henry Lüdeke.

For a work of this length the book is commendably free from minor errors and misprints of any consequence. The following, however, should be added to the short list of errata at the end of the book: *Frederic Reynolds* (p. 318) should be *Frederick Reynolds*; *Hazzlit* (p. 321) should be

*Hazlitt; Mrs Dane's Defense* (p. 370) should be *Mrs Dane's Defence* (the English, not the American spelling); and *Matheson Long* (p. 384) should be *Matheson Lang*. On p. 109 we find the two different spellings *two-pennyrooms* and *two-penny rooms*, though the normal English method of writing this combination is surely *twopenny rooms*; and since the accepted modern English spelling of the names of all other Shakespeare characters has been adopted there seems no justification for consistently referring to Iago as *Jago*. Professor Stamm also occasionally slips into the habit, so common amongst continental authors and so irritating to English readers, of referring to well-known writers or personalities by mere initials when they are normally known by their full christian names. Thus twice (pp. 243 and 265) Nicholas Rowe appears as N. Rowe; and the Edward G. Craig mentioned on p. 382 is better known as E. Gordon Craig, or simply Gordon Craig. 'Dr. du Garde Peach's Village Company in Derbyshire' (p. 398) might also have been given its correct name — the Great Hucklow Village Players; and would it be impertinent to suggest that when the title of a play begins with a definite article, that article should be printed, and not omitted, as it is, for instance in 'Eden Phillpots' *Farmer's Wife*, Rudolph (sic) Besiers *Barretts of Wimpole Street* und Bernard Shaws *Apple Cart*' (p. 395)? The point is perhaps a small one, but it is not unimportant. To the native English reader, who is probably familiar with the plays in question, it is a matter of no great moment, but the non-English student, who will be the principal user of Professor Stamm's work, may not be quite so sure. He will go to it as a reliable source-book and work of reference, and it is desirable that he should be able to find there the full and correct title — in the text as well as in the index — so that when he comes across, say, a mention of J. B. Priestley's *Dangerous Corner* he will know that the title of the play really is *Dangerous Corner* and not *The Dangerous Corner*.

Finally a few matters of too recent history for mention to be made of them by Professor Stamm, though he might care to refer to them in a future edition of his book, since they have at least some bearing, if only an indirect one, upon the subject with which he deals. (i) The foundation of the Society for Theatre Research, with its periodical *Theatre Note Book*. (ii) The inauguration of a Department of Drama at the University of Bristol. (iii) The revival, in adapted form, of the York cycle of mystery plays as part of the Festival of Britain celebrations at York, in June 1951, with E. Martin Browne as producer. (iv) The publication in June of the same year of *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*.

Mr. Hudson's book is complementary to the last two chapters of Professor Stamm's. As the title suggests, it deals with the theatre rather than with the drama: with actors, actresses, audiences and producers rather than with plays and playwrights, and it treats the drama as a form of entertainment — sometimes a popular and sensational form, sometimes an artistic and civilised one — rather than as a branch of literature. In 1850



it was still the great actor, not the dramatist, who ruled the stage. In the year of the Great Exhibition twenty-two so-called theatres were open in the capital, but only two were what Mr Hudson calls 'legitimate houses'; the others, which provided various levels of entertainment, resorted to all kinds of tricks and subterfuges to circumvent the legal restrictions which were placed upon them by an obsolete licensing system. Productions were liberally interspersed with songs, dances, acrobatic performances and comic turns so that a play became no longer technically a play, while the Strand Theatre tried to avoid placing itself on the wrong side of the authorities, as it would have done had it sold tickets, by giving admission to its patrons if they could produce a bag of sweets purchased at an adjoining shop. An ounce of lozenges admitted to a box, an ounce of peppermints to a seat in the pit. The theatre was still frowned upon by most of the churches and the puritanical middle class, and no wonder, if Dickens' recollections of the audience at Sadler's Wells in 1844 (quoted by Mr Hudson) was in any degree representative. It was, he declared in a letter written in 1851, 'as ruffianly an audience as London could shake together. ... It [the theatre] was a bear-garden, resounding with foul language, cat-calls, shrieks, yells, blasphemy, obscenity; a truly diabolical clamour. Fights took place anywhere, at any period of the performance.' Many of the playhouses, too, were the haunts of thieves and prostitutes. Of course, things were not nearly so bad as this at the patent houses, but even they were no great credit to the stage; and the blame, the author of the present book believes, lay very largely with the actors. As he puts it, 'the art of acting had been allowed to deteriorate into mere declamation and stage business ... supplemented by intense physical energy and stormy vehemence. Players liked "a part to tear a cat in".'

The reformation began in the 1850's and was led by Samuel Phelps and Charles Kean. By the end of the 1870's, through a variety of causes, the prestige of the stage had begun to rise. It was no longer boycotted by the wealthy middle-classes. At the better-class houses evening dress became the rule in the stalls. The *art* of acting was returning. More and more space was devoted to dramatic criticism in the more serious newspapers and reviews. The old melodrama of blood, thunder and copious tears, of course, remained, and it was not patronised solely by the lower classes, but increasingly the theatre became serious-minded. And in the main, with brief lapses, it has remained so up to the present time. At the very end of his book Mr Hudson has an interesting paragraph on the audience of today as compared with that of a hundred years ago, which is worth reproduction.

Time has made it less superficially emotional, less responsive to heroism, less sympathetic to assertion. It has lost to a great extent the thrill of merely being in a theatre, the thrill that begins with the first tuning of the fiddle. It has lost the childish delight in listening to a story. It looks less for plot than argument. It can listen to talk without fidgeting for action. It is more insistent on logic and sound psychology. It is more able to face that it can hear a spade called a bloody shovel without a qualm. It is more mentally

alert, quicker to grasp a point. Its habit of going into the cinema in the middle of a picture has made it less necessary for the dramatist to dot his *i*'s and cross his *t*'s. Its habit of listening to the wireless has improved its ear, and after a temporary lapse into slovenliness of speech it has become more sensitive to the beauty of language and pure delivery.

If this is over-complimentary to the modern audience, as many will feel that it is, with a certain amount of reservation it is probably true. How the change has come about — and a great deal more besides — is the subject of Mr Hudson's book. The treatment is popular rather than scholarly, but it reads easily, brings to light a number of little known facts, and draws freely on contemporary testimony. It may be added that there are also a number of attractive illustrations, though the lack of an index makes it difficult to find one's way about in it.

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*Hamlet's Father.* By RICHARD FLATTER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. viii + 207 pp.

This is without doubt the most important contribution to the discussion of *Hamlet* since the publication of Dover Wilson's book *What Happens in 'Hamlet'?* in 1935 and should itself become a storm-center of controversy. For Dr. Flatter's main thesis is no less than revolutionary. The great kink in the back of Shakespeare's most famous play and the reason for T. S. Eliot's now canonical dictum that *Hamlet* is a dramatic failure is the break in the action at the end of Act III and the hero's aimless drifting through the last two acts, ending with his 'death by accident' in the fifth. Every analysis of the play so far has had fairly plain sailing till the end of the Mouse-trap scene, and then has invariably run aground. Dr. Flatter shows his consummate critical yachtsmanship in an ingenious manoeuvre which keeps him afloat till the end of the course, and that is the remarkable feature of his book. For by re-instating Hamlet's father and making the Ghost more than merely the narrator of the crime on which the action is based, but the pervading spirit of the whole play, who watches jealously over the activities of his son and stops him in the Closet-scene with his mother when the father's instructions are in danger of being disregarded, the author discovers a continuity from beginning to end of the play that no other serious critic has found. The father's instructions, to be sure, involving as they do both the punishment of the murderer, which is comparatively easy, and the sparing of the mother, which under the circumstances is impossible, are self-contradictory and cannot be carried out. Hence Hamlet's passive dejection and preoccupation with his own death after the scene with his mother. This situation, however, presupposes

Gertrude's tacid implication in her husband's murder over and above the adultery, both of which crimes the poet keeps in a vague atmosphere of surmise which can act on Hamlet as an incentive to action without destroying the spectators' human interest in the Queen. His strong suspicion of his mother's guilt added to the patent precipitancy of her marriage is more than enough to account for the Prince's misogyny and his behaviour toward Ophelia, while the certainty of his approaching end at the hands of Claudius and Laertes, coupled with the renewed injunctions of his father, who has forgiven his wife her infidelity, allows his natural filial love to reassert itself in the last acts. During the fencing-match, the purport and outcome of which Hamlet has divined, the Prince's thoughts are with his mother, whose last gesture toward him is a maternal caress and whose death leaves the way open to the punishment of Claudius demanded by the Ghost.

The whole structure hinges on Gertrude's character, her relations to Claudius and Hamlet and the nature of her guilt. Flatter argues that since she stretches or distorts the truth to shield her son — the description of Ophelia's death is a flagrant case — she must be intelligent; but brains capable of fibbing and telling white lies can be found aplenty in any girls' school. Flatter says, 'it cannot be doubted that Gertrude has committed adultery'; but, though the Ghost's words are ambiguous, both the Dumb Show and the Mouse-Trap assume no such thing, so that Gertrude's sense of sin and guilt after the Closet-scene and just before Ophelia's Mad-scene, cannot be, and obviously was not intended to be, fixed. Her implication in the murder is far more remote still; the Ghost says nothing, the Dumb Show flatly denies it, the Mouse-Trap makes it highly improbable and Hamlet himself does not suspect it. If he did, he would certainly ask her in spite of Flatter's compunctions and considerations of policy, instead of abusing his uncle in a wild fit of jealousy. Hamlet, Sr., like Shakespeare in the Sonnets, might forgive unfaithfulness, considering that 'frailty, thy name is woman'; but murder is quite a different thing! The besmirching proximity of sordidness, culminating in crime, to the one person now closest to him is enough to poison Hamlet's mind; but merely the suspicion of murder would have broken it, even if forty thousand ghosts had intervened. So Flatter's very wise 'instructions to the jury' are as far as we can go; the atmosphere is more important than the fact. As for Claudius, it is absurd to call him a 'hardened criminal'! His crime is merely an occasional felony, committed by underhand methods, covered up by underhand means, the perpetrator in the anxiety of his petty soul seeking safety in underhand tricks to put away the avenger whom he fears. The King stands in the center of that world of mediocrity to which Ophelia and Polonius as well as Laertes and the Queen belong, which Wilson Knight rightly calls the normal and of which Hamlet himself says

heaven hath pleased it so

.....  
That I must be their scourge and minister.



The contrast of Hamlet's exceptional sensibility with the sordid ordinariness of the minds about him still remains the chief conflict of the play, however much the plot may turn on the Ghost's behests to his son.

Among the many valuable incidental suggestions for a deeper or otherwise better interpretation of the text of the play, the placing of the Dumb Show in the gallery above the inner stage, where it can be seen by the audience, who need the information it conveys, but not by King and court, who sit below and only hear the introductory music that accompanies it, is a highly ingenious solution of a hitherto insoluble problem. On the other hand, to deprive the Player King and Queen in the Mouse-Trap of crown and rank in order to conceal the import of the action from the court and reserve it to Claudius alone, though a tempting proposition, is incompatible with the text of Q<sub>2</sub> and F. If we accepted Flatter's interpretation of Hamlet's inactivity after the second colloquy with the Ghost as a philosophic apathy and preparation for death, then the monologue after his meeting with Fortinbras' army on the road is indeed out of place and may be a fragment of an earlier version of the play. But then, would there be any great sense in the hero's asking his mother to keep his words and behaviour in the Closet-scene secret? In the milder Hamlet of the last two acts there obviously still is a considerable willingness to live and the thoughts of the dying Prince are actually concerned with his reputation and his political position.

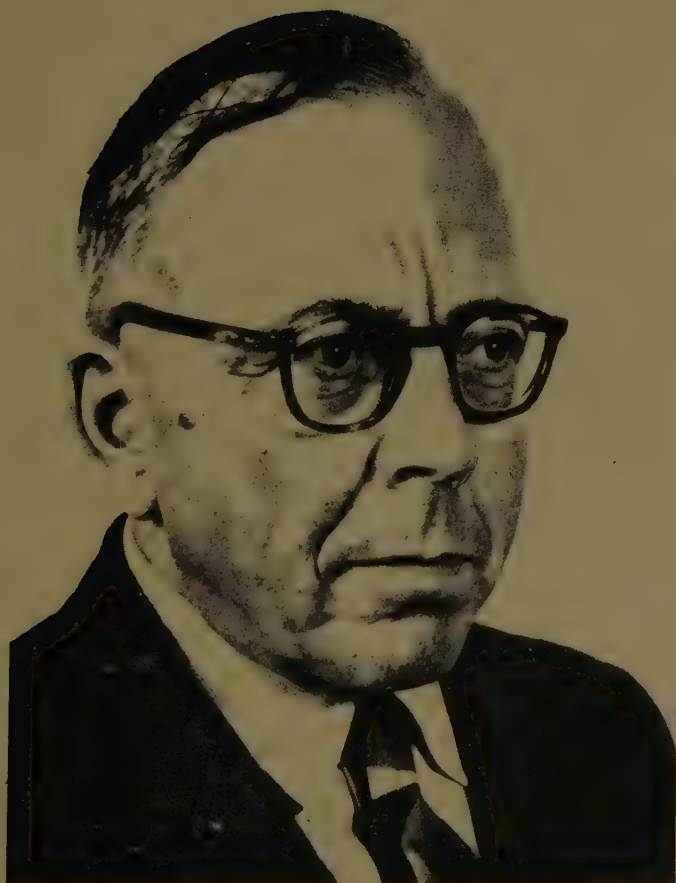
Only a few slight slips betray the fact that the fluent English of this brilliant book is not the author's native tongue.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

*Tout est bien qui finit bien.* Traduction de C. CAMBILLARD.  
(Collection Shakespeare, Texte et Traduction, Publiée sous la  
direction de A. KOSZUL.) XXV + 232 pp. Paris: Société des  
Belles-Lettres. 1952.

M. Cambillard's is no easy task, for he must somehow persuade us that for all its shortcomings this play is worth reading. The introduction discusses the sources of the play, the date and the characters. It may be regretted that when dealing with the sources M. Cambillard does not tell us in what way Shakespeare altered the original *novella*; for the difference does not lie simply in the introduction of a sub-plot and of new characters (cf. Paynter's version of the story, given in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare*). It may also be slightly misleading to point to Shakespeare's debt to Boccaccio by comparing a French translation of the story with a French translation of the play, for the passage quoted (II, 1, not I, 1, as indicated p. x.) is very near to Paynter's version: this makes the reference to Florio ('ce grammairien italien fut d'une grande utilité à notre poète . . .', p. ix) hardly necessary. (Cf. also Q's remark that Shakespeare, like Paynter,







calls 'the folk of Siena "the Senois" for Boccaccio's "Sanesi"'). — That this play is 'largely a palimpsest' (the phrase is Q's, not Dover Wilson's), is generally admitted, but it seems unnecessary in a brief introduction to discuss the matter at such length. Whether *All's Well that Ends Well* is Shakespeare's revision of an earlier play, or the work of several dramatists, or as E. Legouis suggests, a play written by a Shakespeare not interested in his materials, what the student needs to know is why it fails to be a good play. In this respect, Dr. Tillyard's analysis in *Shakespeare's Problem Plays*, which M. Cambillard quotes in his introduction (without however stressing the main interest of this 'experte étude'), is very helpful. Dr. Tillyard's discussion of the characters and his comparison (based on W. W. Lawrence's article) with other comedies dealing with material derived from folk-lore, help us to see the problem which Shakespeare set himself to solve; his comment on some lines shows that the play fails because of 'a lack of imaginative warmth', which best appears in the 'defective poetical style.' — It would have been interesting to explain this in the present introduction, especially as the numerous rhyming passages may not strike a French reader as clear signs of inferior work.

M. Cambillard follows the text of the *Cambridge Shakespeare*, 'sauf quelques modifications qui ont paru indispensables, ou simplement justifiées, et qui sont signalées dans les notes fournies en appendice' (only one of these is mentioned in the notes). One may occasionally disagree with the translation (e.g. II, 3, 186), or wish there were a few more notes (e.g. about I, 2, 220); yet the translator has solved many problems in cases where Shakespeare's text needs notes. French readers should be grateful to M. Cambillard, for his translation will help them to understand the play, while his notes and introduction will help them to appraise it.

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

*Studi sulla poesia popolare d'Inghilterra e di Scozia.* Di SERGIO BALDI. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letterature. 1949. 179 pp. [No price given.]

The articles contained in this volume are, with the exception of the introduction and the very full bibliography, reprints of papers previously published in various Italian periodicals, in part under different titles. They concern various aspects and problems offered by the English and Scottish popular ballads.

The Introduction deals with the history of ballad publication and the sources of Child's Collection. The author rightly points out that the uniformity of all these ballads is one of style, and not of origin; some of them came down to us in manuscript, some in broadsides, some were taken down from oral recitation. The poets too are heterogeneous: some may

have been peasants, others professional ballad-writers for printers. What, however, the ballads have in common, is a tradition which has been alive for many centuries. Thus they became popular.

The other articles are: 'Sul concetto di poesia popolare'. This deals with the various opinions hitherto pronounced on the origin of ballad writing. 'L'origine del significato romantico di "ballata"'. Here the author points out that *ballad*, although originally meaning a dance-song, soon became more or less synonymic with 'song' or 'poem' in general and was later used in a derogatory sense. Only after the publications of Ritson its meaning was restricted to the present sense, which gradually also spread into other European languages. 'L'origine della common measure' confirms that the origin of the ballad-measure must be sought in Latin goliardic poems. 'I relitti medievali nelle ballate' shows that in the ballads there are hardly any reminiscences of Old English poetry, unless there existed popular ballads besides the courtly Old English poetry known to us. But there are many reminiscences of the style of Middle English Romances. The author does not deal with stories and motives, only with style and stock-phrases. 'La più antica ballata europea' is a good interpretation of the Ballad of Judas and shows that it contains all the typical elements of later ballads in spite of its early date (XIIIth century). 'La figura di Robin Hood' deals with the motives of the Robin Hood Ballads and compares them with similar popular stories known from other ballads.

All the articles are well documented and show the author's critical attitude and sane judgement among the various and numerous theories hitherto brought forward.

Innsbruck.

KARL BRUNNER.

*The Ballad of Sir Aldingar. Its Origin and Analogues.* By PAUL CHRISTOPHERSEN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1952. ix + 258 pp. 30s. net.

Since it has been realized that the ballads hardly present a general problem, ballad scholarship, for the last twenty years, has mainly occupied itself with the history of individual ballads. Professor Christophersen's book — in a broader sense dealing with the wide-spread and much-debated motif of 'the falsely accused queen' — must be considered an important contribution to this field of study.

In Great Britain the English and Scottish versions of *Sir Aldingar* share this motif with some medieval chronicles, in each of which the story centres round queen Gunhild, and in some of which the names of the combatants are Rodingar and Mimecan. Besides there are romances on related themes. In Scandinavia the motif also occurs outside the Danish, Faroese, Icelandic (and Norwegian) versions of the ballad of *Ravengaard og Memering*.

Up against this tangled problem the author comes to the conclusion that the Scandinavian name 'Ravengaard' (like English 'Aldingar') can be traced back to earlier English 'Rodingar', and similarly Scandinavian 'Memering' to Middle English 'Mimecan' (which is explained as originally ending in the Dutch-Flemish diminutive suffix *-kin*). The author assumes thirteenth-century influence of the British Gunhild story, by way of Norway, on Scandinavia, where, however, the German Gunhild tradition — with an ordeal at the end, and thus preserved in Iceland and the Faroes — must have established itself before that time. From a combination of this German tradition and the Lombardy story of Gundeberg — the latter having the combat-scene — the English Gunhild story must be explained. Most likely these stories mingled in Flanders before influencing the British Isles (cf. the original Dutch-Flemish suffix *-kin* of Mimecan). Finally the author accounts for some features of *Sir Aldingar* and *Ravengaard og Memering* by assuming a 'loan' from romance (some version or other of the English romance of *The Earl of Toulouse*, and most likely a version of the Danish metrical romance *Den kyske Dronning*, respectively), so that — to quote the author's own words — 'The history of this ballad throws light not only on the origin of the genre but, even more, on the vexed question of the relationship between British and Scandinavian ballads and on the equally vexed question of the debt that balladry owes to romance'.

These conclusions are as well-founded and as convincingly set forth as the book has been systematically designed. A methodical indication of the place of *Sir Aldingar* in British balladry, however, and of *Ravengaard og Memering* in Scandinavian balladry, would certainly have added to the picture, especially as regards the question of the debt to romance. By dealing almost throughout with material on the subject of 'the falsely accused queen' the approach under examination may seem too vertical, or — to put it the other way round — it may seem too little horizontal by hardly taking into account differences and similarities occurring in other ballads.

Viewed as a whole this study shows that the author has adequately mastered his intricate subject. The book — a welcome addition to the series of ballad histories — has an appendix containing the ballad texts with translations of the Scandinavian versions.

Groningen/Emmen.

KL. DYKSTRA.



# Points of Modern English Syntax

## XXIV

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXXIII. No. 6, December 1952

64. The comments received offered the following solutions:

- a. *Why don't you be reasonable?* is a misprint for *why won't you be reasonable?* We have not been able to collate the version of *The Unconquered* in the Complete Short Stories, the source of our quotation, with other editions, but, as will appear further down, we have no reason to suspect a printer's error.
- b. The author intentionally makes his German 'persona agentis', anxious to speak correctly and not to forget a *don't* in a negative-interrogative sentence, commit a ludicrous solecism. This possibility is discounted by the circumstance that nowhere in the story is there a hint that the German speaks a faulty French, or any attempt on the part of the author to represent the soldier as ridiculous on the score of the language he uses. Besides, what mistake in French would be suggested by 'don't you be'?
- c. The locution is a cross between *why aren't you reasonable?* and *do be reasonable or don't be unreasonable*.

In our opinion there is no question of a misprint, a solecism or a hybrid construction; in fact the soldier had no other way of expressing the thought he wanted to convey. For *why aren't you reasonable?* would suggest something like 'why haven't you got a reasonable character?', 'why is your disposition not a reasonable one?', which is not what the soldier meant. We are pleased to let Dr. Wood speak for us:

*Why don't you be reasonable?* is certainly not a solecism; it is a normal piece of English, in common use, and its meaning is not the same as *why aren't you reasonable?* I think we should be right in saying that the distinction exists for all verbs in English, though with most it is not so obvious since it is not reflected syntactically, the normal interrogative form of most verbs being *why don't you?*

Three points are worth noticing:

(i) *Why don't you* + inf. is quite frequently used as a kind of rhetorical question which is, in effect, not a question at all but a suggestion or a piece of advice. Thus *why don't you sell that old car of yours?* may be a genuine question which seeks an answer, or it may be a suggestion that the person addressed should sell his car. Which it is the situation or the context will generally make clear. Sometimes the suggestion amounts almost to a plea or an entreaty, as *Why don't you see a doctor?* (said to a person who has been feeling unwell for some time) or a reprimand, as *Why don't you be a good boy like your brother?* (not the same as *Why aren't you a good boy?*, etc.). With most verbs, as has been said above, the same form is used to express both senses, but with the verb *to be* the normal present interrogative is *why aren't you?*; *why don't you be?* is used for the other. That is to say, it is really the ordinary interrogative (*why aren't you?*) that is abnormal; *why don't you be?* follows the normal pattern of the rhetorical question used for the purpose of advising, entreating or suggesting.

(ii) *Why don't you be?* is wider in scope than *why aren't you?* The latter refers to the present situation only, whereas the former may refer to the future as well. Thus it

would be foolish to ask a boy of seventeen or eighteen *Why aren't you a doctor?*, but if we were discussing with him his future career, and making suggestions for him to consider, we might very well say *Why don't you be a doctor?*

(iii) The two different forms of the interrogative reflect slightly different meanings of the verb *to be* itself. *Why don't you be?* is suggestive of a purpose, effort or activity directed towards the specified end. *Be* means something like 'take steps to become' or 'bring yourself to be', e.g. *Why don't you be a man and face your troubles courageously?* In the passage quoted the soldier is not concerned merely with the girl's present attitude: he is urging her to do something about it — to change it.

The same difference can be seen with the verb *to have*. If a pupil comes to his class without his book, the teacher will ask *Why haven't you a book?*, but the same teacher, in discussing possible birthday presents with his son, will say *Why don't you have a book?*, suggesting that the boy should exercise his choice in favour of this.

65. In *That would be coming over Frog's Bridge* the verbal *ing* is best explained as an adverbial adjunct to *be*, which, of course, is a verb of independent meaning here, with the sense of *to happen*, *to occur*. This fact, and the circumstance that *be* and *coming* do not form a syntactic group, obviously exclude the interpretation of the construction as a progressive. The verbal *ing* in cases like these may express manner, means, or, as in the present instance, attendant circumstances with an undersuggestion of cause. Dr. Wood cites another example: 'It's pretty cold out, but it's not so bad walking'.

The verbal *ings* in *I didn't mind it riding, but it was rather awkward driving* do not really allow of a similar interpretation; their meaning is not identical with adverb clauses like *when* (or *if*) *I was riding, driving*. They do not exactly express time or condition, but rather the circumstances under which the speaker did not mind it or found it awkward, and it would in our opinion therefore be more in accordance with the facts to say that *riding* and *driving* are here used as predicative adjuncts to the subject *I*.

66. The appended questions in our quotations, both of the type *don't you? isn't he?* and *do you not? is he not?*, all belong to what are called confirmative questions, because they invite the person addressed to confirm the statement made. But their different word-order and intonation reflect a difference in meaning: they are not asked for the same reason. In those under *a.*, with *not* added enclitically in the shape of [nt] or [n̩t] to the verb (*don't you? isn't it?*) the appended question is, as Dr. Wood puts it, a merely formal and rather pointless appeal for agreement; they do not invite a negative answer; if they presuppose any reply at all, it is only 'yes', as in *It's a fine day, isn't it?* In those under *b.*, which in our opinion are to be read with stressed final *not* (did you 'not? have you 'not?), the statement is a sort of accusation; the questioner is sure of what he says, he knows his statement is true, and the tag denotes something like 'do you dare to deny that?' If the speaker asks for corroboration it is not to make pleasant conversation, but to obtain a formal confession, an explicit confirmation of what he already knows to be the truth, and he only asks for it because he wants his case proved or established. In *isn't it? didn't you?* it is the affirmative part of the combination that is stressed, whereas

in *is it 'not? did you 'not?* it is the negative part; the speaker so to say challenges the person addressed to deny the truth of his statement.

It is, of course, possible to pronounce *did you not? is he not?* with stress on the verb; in this case the difference with *didn't you? isn't he?* would seem to be negligible. Dr. Wood holds that the former construction tends to be restricted to more formal discourse, and is under the impression that Scottish speakers are more given to it than English, while the contracted forms are the usual ones in ordinary, informal conversation.

It may be pointed out, finally, that the difference in meaning we have tried to establish is not restricted to appended questions, but is also found in ordinary interrogative sentences.

Victoria had learnt from her husband and her uncle Leopold to have a low opinion of the intelligence, industry and patriotism of politicians in general and English politicians in particular. She conceived it to be her duty to do all that lay within her power to save her people — for were they not *her* people? — from the disasters into which their elected representatives were only too likely to lead them. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., Vol. 23, s.v. Victoria, p. 128/1.

To change the place of *not* in the parenthetic sentence would be to impart a perceptibly different meaning to it. It would make the exclamation negative, whereas the sentence as it stands suggests: of course they were her people.

The April number will contain a new set of problems.

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

### Brief Mention

*Whitman and Rolleston. A Correspondence.* By HORST FRENZ. (Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series No. 26, 1951.) Sold by the Indiana University Press, Indiana. 137 pp. Price \$1.50.

Of the 32 pieces of this 'Correspondence', seven short notes are by Walt Whitman and the remainder, some of them lengthy letters not merely of a literary character, are by his Irish admirer who became his prophet in Germany. For Rolleston, standing in point both of time and influence between Freiligrath and Karl Knortz, was the first to conceive the project of making the great and at that time highly enigmatic poet of American democracy known to the German intelligentsia both by articles and lectures and by extensive translations as well. Rolleston's German rendering of large portions of *Leaves of Grass* from the edition of 1882 became the basis of Knortz's publication of the *Grashalme* brought out in 1889, the form in which the Naturalistic generation of the 90's read Whitman. Rolleston, therefore, with his generous idealism and unselfish devotion to the cause, has a firm if modest position in the development of Whitman's fame and influence in Europe, and this edition of what is left of the notes and letters that passed between him and the Master is in the loving care the editor has put into it most welcome. — H. L.



*Cronache Letterarie Anglosassoni.* Di MARIO PRAZ. 2 vols., Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letterature. 1950. 300 pp. each. 1200 Lire.

The two volumes contain a reprint of various articles which Prof. Praz has written from 1929 onwards for various Italian periodicals and newspapers, above all for *La Stampa* of Rome. Most of them are reviews of books, or, better still, short essays inspired by books that had just been published. They cover a wide field, from Shakespeare and Chaucer to Aldous Huxley and James Joyce, from purely literary subjects (which prevail) to such on American neologisms and the American impression of Italy. All are written in a very lively, witty, and occasionally also humorous style. Thus they make good reading and lovers of English literature will be glad that Prof. Praz has saved them from the oblivion into which contributions to the daily press are likely to fall, the more so as they convey a life-like impression of the author's own character. — K. B.

## Books Received

1952

*Judith.* Edited by B. J. TIMMER. (Methuen's Old English Library.) London: Methuen. viii + 55 pp. Price 5 s.

*The 15 Signs Before Doomsday.* By W. HEIST. Michigan State College Press. vi + 231 pp. \$ 5.00.

*The Seven Deadly Sins.* By M. W. BLOOMFIELD. Michigan State College Press. xiv + 482 pp. \$ 7.50.

*The Mirror of Love.* A Reinterpretation of 'The Romance of the Rose'. By A. M. F. GUNN. Texas Tech Press, Lubbock, Texas. xvi + 592 pp. \$ 5.25.

*The Arts in the Middle English Romances.* By M. A. OWINGS. New York: Bookman Associates. 204 pp. \$ 3.50.

*Middle English Dictionary.* HANS KURATH, Editor; SHERMAN M. KUHN, Associate Editor. Part E. 1. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. London: Geoffrey Cumberledge. ii + 120 pp. Subscriptions, \$ 2.50 per part; separately, \$ 3.00 each.

*Chaucerian Essays.* By G. H. GEROULD. Princeton University Press. 103 pp. \$2.00.

*Piers the Plowman.* A Critical Edition of the A-Version. Edited with introduction, Notes, and Glossary by TH. A. KNOTT and D. C. FOWLER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. x + 302 pp. Price \$ 4.50.

*English Books & Readers, 1475 to 1557.* Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade from Caxton to the Incorporation of the Stationers' Company. By H. S. BENNETT, Cambridge University Press. xiv + 337 pp. 35 s. net.

*Edmund Spenser.* By W. L. RENWICK. The R. A. Neil Lecture 1952. Cambridge University Press. 21 pp. 2/6 net.

*That Souveraine Light.* Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser 1552-1952. Edited by W. R. MUELLER and D. C. ALLEN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 133 pp. \$ 3.00.

*The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets.* By E. HUBBER. (Princeton Studies in English, 33.) Princeton University Press. vii + 169 pp. \$ 3.00.

*The Way of Life.* A Thematic Exposition of Some Plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare. By H. RÖHRMAN. Arnheim: Van Loghum Slaterus. 109 pp.

Amsterdam diss.

*Shakespeare*. NBL Book List. General Editor: KATHERINE J. WORTH. Cambridge University Press. 31 pp. 1s. 6d. net.

*The Pattern of Tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher*. By E. M. WAITH. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 120.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. xiv + 214 pp. \$ 4.00.

*Il Teatro di John Marston*. Di G. PELLEGRINI. (Studi e Testi 4.) Pisa: Libreria Goliardica Editrice. 218 pp. L. 2200.

*James Shirley, Dramatiker der Dekadenz*. Von R. GERBER. (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 30. Band.) Bern: A. Francke AG. 109 pp. S. Fr. 12.—.

*Edward Benlowes (1602—1676)*. Biography of a Minor Poet. By H. JENKINS. University of London: The Athlone Press. x + 371 pp. Price 35 s. net.

*English Prose Fiction 1600—1640*. By C. C. MISH. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. v + 34 pp.

*English Prose Fiction 1641—1660*. By C. C. MISH. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. iii + 21 pp.

*English Literature 1660—1800*. A Bibliography of Modern Studies Compiled for *Philological Quarterly* by Ronald S. Crane and others. Volume II: 1939—1950. Consolidated Index to Volumes I and II. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 579-1292 pp. \$ 7.50.

*A History of English Drama 1660—1900*. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Volume I: Restoration Drama 1660—1700. Fourth Edition. vi + 462 pp. — Volume II: Early Eighteenth Century Drama. Third Edition. viii + 467 pp. Volume III: Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750—1800. vi + 423 pp. Cambridge University Press. Price 35/— each volume.

*Die Weltanschauung Henry Fieldings*. Van W. ISER. (Buchreihe der Anglia, 3. Band.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 320 pp. Geh. DM 24.—. Geb. DM 27.— (Subscribers to Anglia, DM 20 or DM 23.— resp.)

*Wordsworth's Imagery*. A Study in Poetic Vision. By F. MARSH. (Yale Studies in English, vol. 12.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 146 pp. \$ 3.75.

*La Crisi dell' Eroe nel Romanzo Vittoriano*. Di MARIO PRAZ. Con 37 tavole fuori testo. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. 456 pp. Lire 4000.

*The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry*. Sources of the Poetic Imagination in Tennyson, Browning and Arnold. By E. D. H. JOHNSON. (Princeton Studies in English, No. 34.) Princeton University Press. xvi + 224 pp. \$ 4.00.

*English Miscellany*. A Symposium of History, Literature and the Arts. Editor: MARIO PRAZ. 3. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. viii + 283 pp.

*Two Centuries of Narrative and Descriptive Verse*. By H. DE GROOT. Groningen-Djakarta: Wolters. 260 pp. f 5.50.

*Some Aspects of the Life and Works of James Augustine Joyce*. Inaugural Lecture by PETER ALLT, Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Groningen, November 20th, 1952. Groningen-Djakarta: J. B. Wolters. 15 pp. f 1.25.

*Literature and the Historian*. By A. BRYANT. (N.B.L. Annual Lectures.) Cambridge University Press. 24 pp. 3s. net.

*Collecting Southern Amateur Fiction of the Nineteenth Century*. An address before the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, November 7, 1951, by H. S. MOTT. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. 14 pp.

## Cynewulf's Runes in *Christ II* and *Elene*

The most stimulating recent contribution to our understanding of Cynewulf's runic passages still remains Kenneth Sisam's Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture of 1932<sup>1</sup>, apart from the incidental observations made by Wolfgang Keller in his article on the Old English *Runic Poem*<sup>2</sup>. Some of their arguments and conclusions undoubtedly continue to hold good, but the present writer feels that a reconsideration of Cynewulf's use of runes is justifiable, especially in the light of more recent runic scholarship.

The four passages of Old English verse into which Cynewulf has inserted his name in runes fall into three types: (a) *Christ II* 797-807a and *Elene* 1256b-1270a, where the letters occur in their right order to spell the poet's name, and where, as we shall endeavour to show in these pages, a straightforward interpretation is quite possible; (b) *Fates of the Apostles* 96-106, where the order of the letters is disturbed, and where the unfortunate state of the MS. precludes any accurate comparison with the above; and (c) *Juliana* 703b-709a, where the runes are not woven singly into the text but occur in three groups within the shorter space of six lines. It is hoped to consider the runic passages in *Fates* and *Juliana* and the problems there raised, in another article; meanwhile we shall confine ourselves in the main to the runes in *Christ II* and *Elene*.

The eight runes that make up Cynewulf's name will here be indicated, for typographical reasons, by their equivalent Roman capitals. In two of the four passages the name is spelt without E<sup>3</sup>; in *Fates* the condition of the text actually makes it impossible to be certain whether or not E was originally present, while in *Christ II* some editors assume a loss in the MS. before line 804b, while others print the text continuously<sup>4</sup>. The two forms *Cynewulf* and *Cynwulf* are here regarded as perfectly good variants, and no MS. gap is assumed in *Christ II*. Like the 24 runes of the common Germanic futhorc, and those of the later shortened Scandinavian futhorks, the runes of the modified Old English futhorc (numbering 28 on the Thames scramasax, but increasing to 33, mainly in Northumbria, probably around the year 800) each possessed a name, most of them presumably of considerable antiquity. Our knowledge of the Old English names derives principally from the Old English *Runic Poem*, and from the various runic alphabets preserved either in MS. or in transcript<sup>5</sup>. The *Runic Poem*

<sup>1</sup> *Cynewulf and his Poetry*, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xviii, 1932, pp. 303ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Zum altenglischen Runengedicht*, *Anglia*, xlviii, 1936, pp. 141ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the forms of the name cf. Sievers, *Zu Cynewulf*, *Anglia*, xiii, 1891, pp. 1ff.

<sup>4</sup> See G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, (*The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* III), 1936, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of these see C. L. Wrenn, *Late Old English Rune-Names*, *Med. Æv.*, i, 1932, pp. 24ff.



stands closest to Cynewulf's verse, if we accept Mr. Sisam's conclusion that the poet flourished in the 9th century<sup>6</sup>, and assign the *Runic Poem*, as is generally done, to the same century. Of the other Germanic runic poems the *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* is probably slightly earlier than the Old English poem<sup>7</sup>, while the Norwegian and Icelandic poems are of very much later date, namely the 12th-13th and the 15th century respectively<sup>8</sup>.

The names and meanings of Cynewulf's eight runes are: *cēn* 'torch', *ȝr* 'bow', *nēd* 'necessity', *eoh* 'horse', *wyn* 'joy', *ūr* 'bison', *lagu* 'water, sea', *feoh* 'wealth'; and, as Mr. Sisam rightly points out, 'the sources concur in the meanings... and there is no evidence (unless it be in Cynewulf's signatures) that any other meanings were known in Old English'<sup>9</sup>. Five of these rune-names, *nēd*, *eoh*, *wyn*, *lagu*, *feoh*, were at the same time common Old English nouns and their interpretation is not disputed. Despite this evidence earlier commentators often attributed various meanings to these runes in the Cynewulfian passages, obviously to achieve an interpretation pleasing to themselves. We might mention Grein's *ege* for E, or Trautmann's *nið* for N<sup>10</sup>. Modern scholarship views such readings with healthy distrust, and the tendency now is to give to these five runes in Cynewulf their ordinary Old English meanings.

The remaining three runes, C, Y, U, possess names which do not in Old English function as common nouns, and in consequence commentators appear to have felt at liberty to interpret them contextually as they pleased. Now before we enter upon a discussion of *cēn*, *ȝr*, and *ūr*, it may be as well to establish two general principles of interpretation. In the first place there must be some evidence justifying the substitution of any other word for the rune-name and its accepted meaning; the mere fact that some other word beginning with the same letter makes acceptable sense does not appear to constitute a sufficient criterion. In the second place there must be consistency: In our view it will not do to interpret *cēn* as 'torch' in *Elene*, as Keller does<sup>11</sup>, and then substitute *cēne* 'der Kühne' in *Christ II*. It seems to us most unlikely that the poet himself would have employed such erratic methods in a matter which was clearly of considerable concern to him. We fully agree with Mr. Sisam that Cynewulf 'might miss his purpose, which was no less than his own salvation, if he puzzled the simplest mind about his name. If, then, very acute modern critics are baffled by his signatures, it is likely that the puzzle is of their own making'<sup>12</sup>. Nothing could have been more puzzling and confusing, and

<sup>6</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. G. Baesecke, *Das Abecedarium Nordmannicum, Runenberichte*, i. H. 2, 1941.

<sup>8</sup> B. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, 1915, pp. 6-8.

<sup>9</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> The various early readings are conveniently tabulated in A. S. Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1909, pp. 155-6.

<sup>11</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>12</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

more injurious to the poet's aim, than the indiscriminate substitution of words with other meanings for the rune-names themselves, which alone could indicate to a listening audience the acrostic that spelt his name.

Mr. Sisam is right also when he says that Cynewulf 'so far from regretting that *cēn* and *ȝr* were not ordinary words, ... probably blessed his luck in having a name that began so unambiguously in runes'<sup>13</sup>. Instead, however, of letting the rune-names stand in the context with their accepted meanings to indicate their function in the acrostic, Mr. Sisam then proceeds to argue that for *cēn* and *ȝr* we should substitute the poet's whole name, thus reading, for instance, in *Elene*:

Till then I, Cynewulf, was buffeted with cares, I was failing in strength, although I received precious gifts of bossed gold in the mead-hall. I was sad; a journeyer perforce, I suffered anxiety, an oppressive secret, where before my eyes the horse strode over the mile-paths, etc.<sup>14</sup>

While the passage thus makes admittedly good sense, there appears to be no evidence in the Anglo-Saxon use of runes to warrant such an interpretation. There are, moreover, stylistic and syntactical objections in both the *Elene* and *Christ II* passages. Both passages are written in the 3rd person, and form part of descriptions, couched in general terms, contrasting past experience on earth with the destiny of man and the world on the day of judgment. The general application of these lines is obvious especially in *Christ II* with its repeated use of *monig*, and, we suggest, also just because of the sudden change of person. If Mr Sisam's interpretation were correct, why then should Cynewulf stop using the first person, in *Elene*, after more than 20 lines at this crucial point? Why, indeed, did the poet not say 'ic wæs secg oð ðaet cnyssed cearwelmum, etc.'? The poet's switching to the 3rd person was undoubtedly as deliberate as the similar method employed in *The Wanderer*, where again a wider and more general application seems intended, although Cynewulf does not call in the 'straw-man' quite plausibly suggested for certain passages of that poem<sup>15</sup>. It ought justly to be argued that as long as the poet says 'he', we have no right to translate 'I'. Finally, it must be noted that in *Christ II*<sup>16</sup> Mr Sisam's suggestion to substitute the whole name is equally unhappy in the case of 'þendan Y ond N ypast meahtan frofre findan'; for not only is the verb in the plural, but if N is given its accustomed meaning in *Elene* there seems little justification for its disregard here.

Thus far no specific mention has been made of U, *ūr* 'bison'. Apart from suggestions like Sievers' 'possession' or Trautmann's substitution of *unne*, the majority of commentators translate 'our' in view of the fact that

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>15</sup> See S. B. Greenfield, 'The Wanderer': A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure, *JEGP*, 1, 1951, pp. 451ff.

<sup>16</sup> Sisam does not specifically discuss this passage 'as the runes in *The Ascension* present no special feature', *op. cit.*, p. 318.

the Old English pronoun happens to be homonymous with the rune-name. Gollancz<sup>17</sup> justifies this interpretation by referring to the gloss 'noster' in the runic alphabet in MS. Cotton Domitian A ix. In the article previously cited Professor Wrenn, however, points out that this MS. (apart from being at least two centuries later than Cynewulf<sup>18</sup>) is by no means reliable with regard to the names ascribed to the several runes; there are some very obvious blunders. The principal objection to this interpretation, however, is the fact that all rune-names are either nouns or proper names like *Ing*. No single rune can stand for any other part of speech, if we except the purely graphic device of using a rune four times for the syllable *ga* in the *Wessobrunner Gebet*. In Anglo-Saxon usage there appears to be no evidence that the common Germanic habit of letting a single rune stand only for its name and what it symbolised was in any way modified<sup>19</sup>. We are thus forced to return to the name *ūr*, Germanic \**ūruz*, and the meaning 'bison, aurochs' which is placed quite beyond doubt by the *Runic Poem*, with its

Ur byþ anmod ond oferhrynede,  
felafræcne deor, feohteþ mid hornum  
mære morstapa; þæt is modig wuht.

In Scandinavia, where even the memory of the bison seems to have disappeared early, the two later runic poems substitute 'dross' (Norwegian) and 'shower of dust' (Icelandic). In England, however, where, as the *Runic Poem* proves, the older meaning was preserved at least into Cynewulf's century, it is likely that with it there also remains the earlier symbolic significance of 'male strength': 'Zugleich wird die Annahme nahegelegt, dass der Name bereits früher in übertragener Bedeutung gebraucht wurde, dass also auch die Sinnzeichenrune  $\wedge$  in den Denkmälern nicht auf das Tier, sondern die in ihm versinnbildlichte (männliche) Kraft abzielt. Auch das englische Runenlied, das den Ur als "stark, wild und mutig" bezeichnet, weist in diese Richtung'<sup>20</sup>. A single U rune occurs on the Lindholm (Skåne) amulet<sup>21</sup>, together with several A, R, N, T, and other runes, and here again the same suggestion has been made with regard to the U: 'Und endlich die u-Rune, wohl das Symbol männlicher Kraft; sie heisst im angelsächsischen Runenalphabet *ūr* "Aurochs"'<sup>22</sup>. In both *Elene* and *Christ II* such an interpretation fits well into the context with its emphasis

<sup>17</sup> Cynewulf's *Christ*, 1892, pp. 181-2.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. C. E. Wright, *A Postscript to 'Late Old English Rune-Names'*, *Med. Æv.*, v, 1936, pp. 149ff.

<sup>19</sup> Thus in MSS. the rune D occasionally stands for *dæg*, the rune  $\mathfrak{C}$  for *ðeþel*, *þeþel*, e.g. *Beowulf* 520, 913, 1702; *Waldere I*, 31; etc.

<sup>20</sup> H. Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, 2nd ed., 1944, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup> L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, 1942, nr. 261, figs. 622-3.

<sup>22</sup> W. Krause, *Runeninschriften im Älteren Futhark*, 1937, p. 59. Similarly Krause, *Was Man in Runen Ritzte*, 2nd ed., 1943, p. 45.



on the passing of 'geogoðhades glæm' (*Elene*) and 'lifwynna dæl' (*Christ II*).

The second of the much-debated runes is Y, *ȝr* 'bow', etymologically the same word as the *eoh* 'yew' of the *Runic Poem* 35-7. The writer of this poem thus uses the same original name twice (as he also does in the case of *gēr* and *īar*) without apparently being conscious of the fact, although he may have been aware that yew was used to make bows<sup>23</sup>. Yew undoubtedly had a special significance in runic lore; it was used not infrequently for runic inscriptions, like the Frisian inscriptions of Arum, Westeremden, and Britsum<sup>24</sup>. In the Norwegian runic poem *ȝr* is 'yew', in the Icelandic poem 'bow'. The Old English *Runic Poem* does not make the meaning 'bow' certain<sup>25</sup>, but the line

fæstlic on færelde, fyrdgeatewa sum,

together with the etymology of the word and its meaning in the Icelandic poem justify the acceptance of 'bow' as the most probable meaning.

Keller has pointed out that Cynewulf's 'Y gnornode' makes perfectly good sense in *Elene*. His words are: 'Es bleibt also nur die Stelle der *Elene* übrig, wo der Ausdruck *ȝr gnornode*, der Bogen trauerte (weil er unbenutzt war), jedenfalls Sinn gibt, eine Einsetzung von *ȝrmb(u)* oder *ȝst* aber Unsinn wäre'<sup>26</sup>. This interpretation is both literal and straightforward, and it is further supported by *N-gefera* 'the companion in need', in apposition to *ȝr*, and by the subsequent contrast with previous more youthful and warlike activity, suggested by the words

þær him E fore  
milpaðas mæt, modig þrægde  
wirum gewlenced.

We suggest that *fore* is here used adverbially in a temporal sense, a usage not unparalleled in Old English<sup>27</sup>, and here fully in keeping with the stylistic tenor and artistic purpose of the whole passage. That the poet should ascribe a personality, as it were, to the bow would not have surprised a contemporary audience accustomed to the naming of weapons, notably swords<sup>28</sup>. The direct antithesis to Cynewulf's 'disused bow' is found in the 'bogan waeron bysige', *Battle of Maldon*, 110.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II*, iii, 2, 117-8:

The very beadsmen learn to bend their bows  
Of double-fatal yew against thy state.

<sup>24</sup> The most recent interpretation of the latter is 'Always carry this yew in the host of battle.' (W. J. Buma, *Das Runenstäbchen von Britsum, Beiträge*, 73, 1951, pp. 306ff.)

<sup>25</sup> Dickins, *op. cit.*, p. 23, prints a question mark, leaving the rune-name untranslated.

<sup>26</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. for instance *Paris Psalter*, psalm 77, v. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Hrunting, Nægling (*Beowulf* 1457, 2680), Mimming (*Waldere I*, 3); cf. also the Palmunc of the *Nibelungenlied* 95, etc., and the frequent personifications in the Old English Riddles.

In *Christ II* the Ruler of the skies is described as uttering stern words to those

þe him ær in worulde wace hyrdon,  
þendan Y ond N ypast meahthan  
frofre findan.

Again the passage contrasts an earlier state with the grim reality of impending judgment, when former things ('wynn...eorþan frætwa', 'lifwynna dæl', 'feoh on foldan') have passed away; but unlike the picture of the 'disused bow' of *Elene*, the poet here glances back to the time when the weapon was still very much in use. Indeed, the poet implies that it was too much in use: there was not enough dependence on God; men were remiss in their obedience to Him, and instead relied overmuch on the strength of their own arms, and on *nēd*, the need of the moment. Their reaction to a given situation was not to turn to God for help, but to take what seemed the easier road to success, namely to find succour in human strength, in their weapons and in the stern necessity, the duty, of having to act. Such conduct is here condemned, for men are expected to turn first to God, not to act independently of Him.

The interpretation here suggested again has the advantage of being literal and of fitting well into the context, without in any way straining the sense of the passage. *Frofor*, as often in *Beowulf*, carries the more concrete meaning of 'help, succour' rather than the more spiritual 'comfort, consolation', while *nēd* is variously glossed 'necessity, need, urgent requirement, a necessary business, duty'<sup>29</sup>, thus permitting the interpretation here offered.

The rune C presents greater difficulty than those previously discussed, mainly because its name, *cēn* 'torch', is not paralleled in the Scandinavian runic poems whose *kaun* is generally interpreted 'ulcer'. There is, however, cognate with *cēn* the German *Kien*, OHG *kien*, *chien*, *kēn* 'Fichte, Kienspan, Kienfackel'<sup>30</sup>, found in several OHG glosses<sup>31</sup> and presupposing with Old English *cēn* a Germanic *\*kēnaz*. Another possibility that has been suggested is that the original rune-name was Germanic *\*kanō* 'Kahn, skiff', and that this might be applied also to the Old English *Runic Poem* with reference to a ship burial<sup>32</sup>. This, however, does not help at all with Cynewulf's runes where the meaning 'skiff' would create more difficulties than it resolves; we thus return to *cēn* 'torch', preferring also to interpret the C-verse in the *Runic Poem* in the same manner. In *Elene* there is no real problem, as Keller has rightly pointed out. He says: 'Auch dem

<sup>29</sup> See Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *nīd*.

<sup>30</sup> F. Kluge, *Etym. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 1915, s.v. *Kien*.

<sup>31</sup> See E. G. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, 1834-46, s.v. *Kien*.

<sup>32</sup> W. Jungandreas, *Die germanische Runenreihe und ihre Bedeutung*, *ZfdPh.*, 60, 1935, pp. 105ff; and *Zur Runenreihe*, *ibid.*, 61, 1936, pp. 227ff.

Engländer war *cēn* ein fremdartiges Wort, dessen Bedeutung ihm aber doch soweit klar war, dass er sie richtig wiedergab. Wenn Cynewulf an der offenbar sinnvollsten Runenstelle der *Elene* von *cēn drūsende* (*drowsing torch*) spricht, so bezeichnet er die herabgebrannte Kienfackel durchaus treffend<sup>33</sup>. Admittedly this is perhaps an unexpected metaphor to be applied by an Anglo-Saxon poet to a 'secg...cnyssed cearwelnum', but no more to be rejected on that ground alone than the equally apt 'biter beorþegu' of *Andreas* 1533. Cynewulf's artistic originality may well have been largely prompted here by the need to fit in the name of the C-rune, although his use of rhyme earlier in the poem shows quite plainly that he was not afraid of stylistic experiment.

There remains the C in *Christ II*. Again we suggest that the accepted meaning 'torch' can be retained, as it should be, if the torch is here regarded as the symbol of fire<sup>34</sup>, which latter is the inevitable background to any Anglo-Saxon description of doomsday<sup>35</sup>. In *Elene* the runic passage is followed almost at once by the reference to the all-consuming dire flame, the *tionleg* of line 1279; in *Christ II* the picture of fiery destruction comes even sooner, following immediately upon the 'F on foldan' of line 807a. The thought of fire was thus clearly prominent in the poet's mind, and it need not seem in any way strange that he should picture 'many a man led into the great assembly before the presence of the eternal Judge and, while the flame was trembling, hearing the words of God', the flame here being represented by the torch trembling or flickering in the background as a symbol of the great fire about to descend upon the earth and its treasures. The choice of *cēn* rather than some other synonym was of course forced upon the poet by the requirements of his acrostic, but its meaning in the context would hardly puzzle a contemporary audience, while at the same time his choice of the rune-name would indicate its additional significance. Such a reading requires slight modification of the punctuation of this passage as generally accepted. The MS. has an inverted comma after *cwacað*, but no mark after *dēman* where editors generally place a full stop. Our reading requires a full stop after *talge* (794b), a semi-colon after *dēman* (796b), and no mark, or possibly a comma, after *cwacað* (797a). *Donne* (797a) is translated as 'when', as it also is in 791a. *Monig beoð* (795a), parallel to the *sceal forht monig* of 801b, is taken to mean 'many a man is' or 'shall be'; the form *beoð* is found for the singular in Anglian and in poetry where two syllables are required<sup>36</sup>, and *gehyreð* (797b) is taken to refer to *monig* without repetition of the subject. The only textual emendation required in these lines (*læded* for MS. *lædað* 795) is generally accepted, while in 804

<sup>33</sup> Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>34</sup> Torches were frequently used, and obviously regarded, in this way; 'die Fackel erfüllt die symbolische Rolle des Feuers bei weltlichen und religiösen Feierlichkeiten' (*Schweiz. Lexikon*, 1946, s.v. *Fackel*), as Grimm already pointed out (*Deutsche Mythologie*, ch. 20, II.)

<sup>35</sup> E.g.: *The Judgment Day I*, 7ff., *The Judgment Day II*, 145ff, *Phoenix* 491ff.

<sup>36</sup> Sievers-Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, 1942, para. 427, note 7.



se *wynn* may be merely a misspelling for *seo*, or perhaps a parallel to feminine *ðe* for *ðeo* in *Rushworth* 2<sup>37</sup>. Nor, finally, is the picture of the 'trembling torch' any less fortunate than that of the 'drowsing torch' in *Elene*. Numerous verbs describe the fire's action in Old English verse, while *cwacian* is used as readily of men, their limbs, their weapons, as *bifian* is of woods or of the earth generally.

If then we accept the rune-names at their face value in *Christ II* and *Elene*, the two relevant passages may be translated as follows:

### *Christ II* 795ff.

There many a man shall be led into the great assembly before the presence of the eternal Judge; when the flame trembles he shall hear the King speak, the Ruler of the skies utter stern words to those who formerly in the world were remiss in their obedience to Him, at a time when their bow and the necessity of the moment most easily availed to find help for them. There shall many a man in that place await, fearful and weary, what severe punishments He will decree according to his deeds. Joy in earth's treasures is fled. Manly strength, his portion of life's delights, wealth on earth, had long been entombed by the waterfloods.<sup>38</sup>

### *Elene* 1256 ff.

Until then the man<sup>39</sup> had always been buffeted with surging cares, (he was like) a drowsing torch, although he had received treasures in the mead-hall, apple-shaped gold. The (disused) bow, his companion in need, mourned, suffered oppressive sorrow, an anxious secret, where formerly the horse had measured for him the mile-paths, galloped proudly, decked with wire ornaments. Joy is diminished, and pleasure, after the passing of years; youth is gone, the glory of old. Manly strength was once the splendour of youth. Now the former days have departed after the passage of time, the joys of life gone, just as the flood ebbs away, the rushing tides. Wealth is transitory to every man beneath the heaven.

Our interpretation has endeavoured to show how successfully Cynewulf achieved in these two poems his double purpose: to present a coherent picture of the day of judgment with its inherent contrast between man's earlier state and the elemental upheaval of doomsday itself, while at the same time weaving into the narrative the runes that spell his name, so that prayers might be offered for his salvation. He could assume that his 9th century audience was familiar with the rune-names, and he used them quite simply in their accepted traditional meanings. To have substituted any other words, homonymous or not, would have defeated his purpose. Only when *cēn* carried the runic meaning of 'torch' or 'flame' could its significance be at once apparent, and undoubtedly the poet 'blessed his luck' that his task was such a relatively easy one. But Cynewulf was primarily

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 337, note 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Laguflodum bilocen* is here regarded as a poetic metaphor for the passing and the destructive influence of time, again no doubt demanded by the need to insert the L-rune, but at the same time linked to the picture of the doomsday floods (cf. *The Judgment Day I*, 1-3, 38-9, etc.), just as *cēn* alludes to the doomsday fire, including of course the fires of hell.

<sup>39</sup> The MS. *sæcc* is emended to *secg* by most edd.

writing poetry, and the runic passages in *Christ II* and *Elene* are integral parts of these poems; they further the narrative instead of disturbing it; stylistically they fit naturally into the stern picture of the day of judgment with its scourges of fire and flood. The runic acrostic, however dear to Cynewulf's heart, was subordinated to the requirements of the narrative, and the result is that the flow of his alliterative verse continues unimpeded. Just as Otfrid succeeded in weaving his name into the vernacular verses of his *Evangelienbuch*, so Cynewulf, using the old but still remembered runic lore of his Germanic ancestors, has left us in the texture of his two finest poems his name to be known, prayed for, and admired.

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## Dryden and the Art of Praise

Much of Dryden's poetry was written to celebrate public occasions grave and gay, and to laud the merits and achievements of public persons. Compliment and adulation were not incidental elements in his work, but an important part of his function as a professional writer and poet laureate. Poetry, however, was not only his profession, but his art; and in panegyric, as in every other category of verse he attempted, he worked conscientiously at a long-established poetic mode, and gave it something of his own distinctive character and style.

He has been persistently censured for the extravagance of his panegyrics. 'In the meanness and servility of hyperbolical adulation', says Dr. Johnson, 'I know not whether, since the days in which the Roman emperors were deified, he has ever been equalled. ... When once he has undertaken the task of praise he no longer retains shame in himself, nor supposes it in his patron.'<sup>1</sup> Mr. Van Doren, in the finest general estimate of Dryden's poetry of this century, compares the court society of the Restoration with that of fourth century Rome; discovers in it 'a certain pettiness, a certain exclusiveness, a certain blindness, and a certain pretentious unreality in the official psychology'<sup>2</sup>; and criticises Dryden's panegyrics in this context. It is true that Dryden was often a time-server, a professional poet singing the virtues of his benefactors and of those who seemed, by their position or wealth, to promise some sort of remuneration for elegant flattery. He praised to live. Yet too much has been made of this obvious fact. For example, critics have pointed to his letter to Rochester in 1673, in which he admits writing an extravagant prologue and epilogue for University

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1905), i. 399.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poetry of John Dryden* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 116.

performances at Oxford: 'And by the event your Lordship will judge how easy 'tis to passe any thing upon an University; and how grosse flattery the learned will endure.'<sup>3</sup> Some have argued, rather unconvincingly, that he was trying to curry favour with the University authorities for his own advancement;<sup>4</sup> but in any event, he was an artist writing in an established theatrical mode, and mindful that a dramatist's essential business, in writing a prologue or an epilogue, is to engage the sympathy, tickle the humour, flatter the vanity, and anticipate the criticism of his audience.

Again, in almost every poem, close reading reveals much of thought and fancy which lies beyond the limits of mere adulation. In the panegyrics, as in many of Dryden's prose dedications, a person or an event serves but as the occasion of his work. There is reason in the view that, although the initial purpose of a poetic eulogy may be to praise for gain, the essence of the panegyrical style is 'wit'<sup>5</sup>: the poet weaves an intricate and self-sufficient pattern of 'fancy' and 'wit' round and through his human or historical subject, and his growing preoccupation with purely artistic problems carries him, not unwillingly, beyond his apparent theme. Although Dryden owed much to the example of Waller, who 'first made writing easily an art', and to the darling of his youth, 'the famous Cowley', the chief influence on his early panegyrical style was Donne, or Donne at second-hand. Waller excelled in a neat, witty, accomplished middle style; Cowley, in his poems of praise, oscillates between a talking style and a noisy, hollow rhetoric: Dryden's essential tones are rich, weighted, and exalted. It was Donne who drew learning and abstruse wit into the service of compliment, in the extravagances of the two *Anniversaries* and the 'elegant epistles in which he delighted and perhaps bewildered his noble lady friends and patronesses with erudite and transcendental flattery'<sup>6</sup>; and on Donne, and the Donne tradition, Dryden drew heavily for the subtleties of poetic praise.

The 'metaphysical' element, however, is not constant in, or natural to, his panegyrical style. His early poems are laden with the philosophical and scientific imagery, the extravagant conceits, and the startling shifts of thought, which mark so much of the verse of the early and middle seventeenth century; but he always seems a laborious apprentice in a difficult and uncongenial craft, drawing his material uneasily from second-hand, and failing to achieve any synthesis of his developing natural style and the ideas and imagery which he pretentiously affects.

There is little virtue in the pretence of some, that Dryden outgrew the fascination of his 'false lights'. In some measure, and in his own terms, he realised and demonstrated that the conceited wit of the 'metaphysicals' had lost its vital connection with thought and feeling. The ferment of ideas and events, in which the Jacobean poets and dramatists had striven

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of John Dryden*, ed. C. E. Ward (Durham, N.C., 1942), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See Hugh Macdonald, *John Dryden, A Bibliography* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 137-8.

<sup>5</sup> I develop this from a private suggestion by Professor E. N. Hooker.

<sup>6</sup> H. J. C. Grierson, *Poems of John Donne* (Oxford, 1912), ii, xiv.



to match mind and imagination with the times, had subsided; and with it went the *raison d'être* of a bold, intricate, and extravagant poetic style. What had been at its best functional in poetry, and had found its justification in its functional nature, had become decorative and excremental. Yet Dryden never wholly abandoned the conceit as outmoded or inept. His natural exuberance of mind, his delight in 'the irregular and excentrick violence of wit'<sup>7</sup>, the often delusive doctrine of 'fancy', the significant example of Ovid's 'odoriferous flowers', and the new influence of Longinus on critical thought, combined to hold him in an inconstant allegiance to a tradition which in theory he grew to condemn. But although conceits and witty extravagances adorn his last plays and his last book of poems, and may be found clinging to the smooth classical surface of his mature panegyrics in embarrassed conspicuousness, he began to reject these in some degree quite early in his work, and to develop a more natural style of his own. In the *Heroique Stanza's* on Cromwell, for example, extravagance and the assured rhetorical exposition of his subject's greatness go hand in hand:

His Grandeur he derived from Heav'n alone,  
For he was great, e'er Fortune made him so;  
And Wars, like Mists that rise against the Sun,  
Made him but greater seem, not greater grow.

He fought, secure of Fortune, as of fame;  
Till by new Maps, the Island might be shown,  
Of Conquests, which he strew'd where-e'er he came,  
Thick as the *Galaxy* with Stars is sown.

Nor dy'd he when his Ebbing Fame went less,  
But when fresh Laurels courted him to live:  
He seem'd but to prevent some new Success,  
As if above what Triumphs Earth could give.<sup>8</sup>

In *Astraea Redux*, the exultation of an England restored to its monarch, and hopeful of an ordered and prosperous reign, is energetically expressed in terms which swing between ludicrous exaggeration and the majestic assertion of high ideals. In the address *To my Lord Chancellor*, the compression and constant shift of focus which mark the image-patterns of 'metaphysical' poetry are reduced, steadied, and broadened out: the exaggerated compliment and fanciful imagery remain; but nothing is forced or improper to the lofty and serious theme of harmonious government:

In open Prospect nothing bounds our Eye  
Until the Earth seems join'd unto the Sky:  
So in this Hemisphere our utmost View  
Is only bounded by our King and you.  
Our Sight is limited where you are join'd  
And beyond that no farther Heav'n can find.

<sup>7</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, i. 460.

<sup>8</sup> Stanzas vi, xiv, xxxiii.

So well your Virtues do with his agree  
 That, though your Orbs of different Greatness be,  
 Yet both are for each other's use dispos'd,  
 His to enclose, and yours to be enclos'd:  
 Nor could another in your Room have been,  
 Except an Emptiness had come between.  
 Well may he then to you his Cares impart  
 And share his Burden where he shares his Heart.  
 In you his Sleep still wakes; his pleasures find  
 Their Share of Business in your labouring Mind.  
 So, when the weary Sun his Place resigns,  
 He leaves his Light and by Reflection shines.<sup>9</sup>

In the celebration of men and events in *Annus Mirabilis*, abstruse and laboured smartness struggles with a simpler, more elevated and direct utterance in stanza after stanza: Dryden strives to be at once the poet of a fantastic tradition which is losing its force, and the earnest disciple of Virgil, 'my master in this poem'; and it is the recurring Virgilian tone which carries the poem to its modified success. When we turn to Dryden's later panegyrics, it is confident hyperbole, gracious compliment, and sheer rhetorical power, which persuades and delights:

When factious Rage to cruel Exile drove  
 The Queen of Beauty, and the Court of Love,  
 The Muses droop'd with their forsaken Arts,  
 And the sad Cupids broke their useless Darts.  
 Our fruitful Plains to Wilds and Deserts turn'd,  
 Like *Eden's* Face when banish'd Man it mourn'd:  
 Love was no more when Loyalty was gone,  
 The great Supporter of his awful Throne.  
 Love could no longer after Beauty stay,  
 But wander'd northward to the Verge of Day, }  
 As if the Sun and he had lost their Way.  
 But now the illustrious Nymph, return'd again,  
 Brings every Grace triumphant in her Train...<sup>10</sup>

There is a similar delightful play of fancy, more sustained if less lyrical, round the beauty and virtue of the Duchess of Ormonde, in the address which opens the *Fables*. In Dryden's praise of the character of his kinsman of Chesterton, 'wit' in the sense of 'conceit' plays a very small part. 'These annals', says Scott, 'however simple and vulgar, illuminated by our author's pen, shine like clouds under the influence of a setting sun.'<sup>11</sup> Dryden is completely at ease in the evenly sustained elevation of solid virtue, which he manages by weighted generalisation on the right and the good, and by a restrained, judiciously humorous heightening of the subject's character.

His panegyrics are as much opportunities for the exercise of 'wit' as they

<sup>9</sup> Lines 31-48.

<sup>10</sup> *Prologue To the Dutchess, On Her Return from Scotland* (1682), lines 1-13.

<sup>11</sup> *The Works of Dryden* (London, 1808), xi, 71-2.

are indirect recognitions of past favours or invitations to patronage. But the type of 'wit' they exemplify changes with time. In several places in his critical essays, Dryden repeats the old and conventional definition of 'wit' as 'sharpness of conceit'<sup>12</sup>; but from the beginning of his career, he thought also of 'wit' as an essential element, with imagination, in the general creative process.<sup>13</sup> This broader conception is crystallised in his later definition of 'wit' as 'propriety of thoughts and words'. Propriety of thought is 'that fancy which arises *naturally* from the subject, or which the poet adapts to it'; propriety of words is 'the clothing of these thoughts with such expressions as are naturally proper to them; and from both of these, if they are judiciously performed, the delight of poetry results.'<sup>14</sup> Dryden declares, significantly, that he drew this definition from close consideration of Virgil:

He is everywhere above conceits of epigrammatic wit, and gross hyperboles; he maintains majesty in the midst of plainness; he shines, but glares not; and is stately without ambition... propriety of thoughts and words are only to be found in him.<sup>15</sup>

The 'wit' which emerges in his mature panegyrical style is, at its best, a graceful or playful compliment natural to his theme. The essential function of both imagery and diction in panegyric is to emphasise and heighten. Although much of the quasi-metaphysical imagery of Dryden's early poetry is merely decorative and super-imposed, some of it serves to underline the poet's praise. But as his voice settled into its adult tones, without fantastic attempts to mimic others, he inclined more and more to hyperbole and controlled extravagance. His capacity for immense, assured over-statement, which developed with time and with experiment, proved sufficient for his needs; he had little cause to drag pretentious novelties from an earlier tradition into a different style which he was engaged in making his own.

With the professional writing-up of the great, and the exercise of 'wit' which this provided, there is a third aspect of Dryden's panegyrics worthy of consideration. The key to his method lies in an observation of Dr. Johnson's (made with derogatory intent), and in Mr. Van Doren's supplement to it. Dryden appears, says Johnson,

never to have impoverished his mint of flattery by his expences, however lavish. He had all forms of excellence, intellectual and moral, combined in his mind, with endless variation... He never seems to decline the practice, or lament the necessity; he considers the great as entitled to encomiastick homage, and brings praise rather as a tribute than a gift, more delighted with the fertility of his invention than mortified by the prostitution of his judgement.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker, (Oxford, 1926), i. 138-9, 172.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 172, 270.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 256.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, i. 399-400.



Dryden's official praise, says Mr. Van Doren,

rings with a round Roman grandeur. He writes as if he lived to praise, not praised to live. His lines speak contempt for all things small — small passions, small deeds, small wit. He is warm yet decorous; he is effectual because of his great confidence and his unrelenting eloquence. And his resources are infinite.<sup>17</sup>

These two passages, the one a celebrated Augustan judgment and the other a modern statement of virtues which have long been recognised, together throw light on an aspect of Dryden's panegyrics which criticism has overlooked in its condemnation of his flattery and fantastic extravagance. He could be, when he chose, a perspicacious realist: his comedies, his satires, and occasionally his prose essays, reflect a close observation and a humorous, open-eyed assessment of men and affairs. In this, he is but one illustration of the frank, lucid matter-of-factness, in many reduced to a brutal insensitiveness to principle and ideals, which is a mark of his time. But on its other side, Restoration England was resolved to be, if not the nursery, then the forcing-house of the unworldly, exalted, heroic virtues. The difference between the ideal and 'the spotted actuality' in the world in which they lived, was always apparent to Dryden and his contemporaries; of this the satire, correspondence, diary literature and comedy of the times provide ample evidence. But the lamentable reality could be countered only by a persistent exemplification of the ideal. Dryden's recognition of the false chivalry, the empty heroics, and the pretence to principle in court and political circles, is epitomised in the sustained mock-heroic of *Absalom and Achitophel*, in which layers of subtle irony underlie even his praise. On the other hand, there is little suggestion of mere elaborate pretence, little essential artificiality, in the best of his poetic drama. The poetic and the realistic are not the same for Dryden. Poetry can do better than Nature — a venerable thesis, the Renaissance development of the Aristotelian doctrine of an art which is universal, perfect, and higher and more philosophical than history, which Dryden re-states in the *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*. The artist in paint or words should 'form to himself an idea of perfect nature':

thereby correcting Nature from what she actually is in individuals, to what she ought to be, and what she was created ... Thus in portraits, the painter will not take that side of the face which has some notorious blemish in it; but either draw it in profile (as Apelles did Antigonus, who had lost one of his eyes,) or else shadow the more imperfect side. For an ingenious flattery is to be allowed to the professors of both arts, so long as the likeness is not destroyed.

..... Though it must be an idea of perfection, from which both the epic poet and the history painter draws, yet all perfections are not suitable to all subjects; but every one must be designed according to that perfect beauty which is proper to him.<sup>18</sup>

In poetry lies the antidote to the weaknesses and imperfections of the real

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>18</sup> *Essays*, ii. 125, 127.

world. The poet's business is not necessarily, or invariably, to depict the actual; he is licensed, by the very nature and tradition of his art, to raise and make perfect. The influence of this doctrine is a common-place of criticism; but its implications for the art of panegyric have not been drawn out. Adulation becomes a justifiable art; and in its art lies its justification. Dryden elevated his imperfect human subjects to the level of ideal exemplars; and his panegyrics are less hymns on individual persons, than celebrations of the virtues which they exemplify — mixed in reality with vice and weakness, but raised to perfection by poetry. Some Restoration portrait-painting provides a significant parallel. The artist concerns himself, neither with a penetrating personal interpretation of his subject, nor with mere photographic reproduction, but with the creation of an ideal type-figure elucidating and perfecting the character and appearance of his sitter.

The Augustan interest in men and manners, the concern for civilised virtues, and the predilection for reflection and didactic comment, encouraged the poet to celebrate public characters and occasions, personal gain apart, and to raise these themes imaginatively to an ideal level without any fundamental insincerity. Thus, for Dryden, the dead Cromwell is the image of power, disciplined command, and military prowess; Mary of Modena is the ideal of beauty and grace in a factious and sordid court; John Driden of Chesterton is the type of loyal and sagacious squirearchy. — 'I have', says Dryden, 'not onely drawn the features of my worthy Kinsman, but have also given my own Opinion, of what an Englishman in Parliament oughto be: & deliver it as a Memorial of my own Principles to all Posterity.'<sup>19</sup> The Duke of Ormonde and his lady epitomise hereditary dignity, generosity, and courage; Mrs. Killigrew is the exemplar of the virtues and arts which link earth and heaven<sup>20</sup>; Bishop Ken, indirectly eulogized in Dryden's adaptation of Chaucer's portrait of a poor parson, is endowed with all the ecclesiastical virtues; and the Countess of Abingdon, although never seen by the poet, and praised 'for a fat fee'<sup>21</sup>, embodies as Eleonora all the sweetness, charity, and grace of ideal womanhood.

'The spotted actuality' is absorbed or transcended by the ideal which the poet's imagination creates against a background of reality; and in this transcendence, extravagance and hyperbolical compliment play a major, comprehensible part.<sup>22</sup> Dryden's exaggerations have a strict poetic function — they are part of the 'propriety' of panegyric; and the critic's task is not to deplore their presence and emphasise their contribution to sheer fantastic flattery, but to assess their value as essential elements in a boldly artificial type of poetry. In such a test, much of Dryden's early writing fails miserably. His forced flights of fancy detract from the artistic sincerity of his praise. Where, on the other hand, he concerns himself less with

<sup>19</sup> *Letters*, ed. C. E. Ward, p. 120.

<sup>20</sup> See E. M. W. Tillyard, *Five Poems, 1470-1870* (London, 1948), pp. 50 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Van Doren, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Preface to *Annus Mirabilis*: 'the same images serve equally for the Epique Poesie, and for the Historique and Panegyrique, which are branches of it.'

'sharpness of conceit', and more with the bold, imaginative over-statement which is a primary part of his own poetic character, he is remarkable successful. The real is raised to the ideal, and Fancy takes care of herself.

Dryden continues the Donne tradition in one important respect: Ben Jonson, in his conversations with Drummond, observed 'that Donnes Anniversaries were profane and full of blasphemies: . . he told Mr. Donne if it had been written of the Virgin Marie it had been something; to which he answered that he described the Idea of a Woman, and not as she was'. That Dryden flattered for his own ends, and indulged his poetic 'wit' in the process, is obvious; but flattery and wit are not the whole tale, and do not adequately explain either the style or the content of his best panegyrics. His satiric portraits belong to a freer, broader, and more colourful world than the real world of Restoration politics; strict verisimilitude is, in them, abandoned in fidelity to the demands of good art: and what is true of his satiric portraiture is no less true of his idealised eulogies. Art distorts, heightens, emphasises, and simplifies reality, for praise and blame alike.

Aberystwyth.

JAMES KINSLEY.

## Echoes in *The Waste Land*

In a recent article (*English Studies*, February 1951) Dr. G. Melchiori discussed the second movement of *The Waste Land* and pointed out that 'some of the materials that went into the building' of this part of the poem came from *Lamia*, *Ulysses*, *The Ancient Mariner*, and especially from *Cymbeline*. In his further note of August 1951, Dr. Melchiori drew attention to a passage from *Notes on Designs of the Old Masters* in which Swinburne describes 'the fatal woman' and mentions several elements used by Eliot in *A Game of Chess*.

I should like to add a further, tentative, suggestion with a view to inviting discussion and criticism. I am not at all convinced that the remark is relevant, but if it is the undertones evoked by the comparison may contribute to the composite view of the human predicament as presented by Eliot. Incidentally it may lead to a comparison between two satirists, or rather two moralists, and between their attitudes to their public.

No one will deny that by their rhythm as well as their imagery the first lines of *A Game of Chess* suggest the splendour and voluptuousness of the scene 'upon the river of Cydnus', which is directly referred to. The 'wealthy-lustre' of the banquet-room in *Lamia*, together with the perfumes and winking Cupids of Imogen's bed-chamber, may account for the warmer, more stifling atmosphere of the modern woman's room. By means of these suggestions we are invited to see this woman as Cleopatra, *Lamia* and *Philomel*, all in one, in other words, to associate her with The Lady of the



Rocks of the preceding movement, who, as has been pointed out<sup>1</sup>, alludes to Pater's description of *La Gioconda*.

In view of these associations with the 'rich profusion' of these exotic settings and with 'what in the ways of a thousand years men have come to desire' (Pater: Leonardo da Vinci), it may sound bizarre to be reminded of an English belle<sup>2</sup>, whose fatal beauty was the cause of 'mighty contests', sung in a mock-heroic tone; it may sound equally bizarre to associate the music and spaciousness of the blank verse paragraph with that of the closely clipped couplets. Yet it seems to me that Belinda can, not unnaturally, be added to the train of ancestresses of Eliot's woman<sup>3</sup>.

The 'not conscious' reference to *Lamia* and to *Cymbeline* may account for the change from the river-scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* to the interior in *A Game of Chess*. What to me suggests yet another reference is that Eliot's woman is sitting at her toilet, and that the only part of her that the poet mentions is her hair. The scene as a whole reminds me of the end of Canto I in *The Rape of the Lock* (1714 version); moreover several details point to a closer resemblance.

In the lines examined by Dr. Melchiori, one word invites comment; he has noted that Eliot's 'standards wrought with fruited vines From which a golden Cupidon peeped out' correspond not only to the 'pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids' in Cleopatra's barge but also to the 'two winking Cupids' of Imogen's chamber; he has not, however, remarked on the use of the word: Cupidon. No doubt, rhythm and harmony (Cupidon peeped out) are the main reasons for preferring the unusual word; yet one would be surprised if the unusual word did not bring with it a peculiar connotation. *Cupidon*, in fact, means: 'A "beau" or "Adonis"' and is illustrated in OED by one quotation, from Byron, which makes the sense plain if we restore the context:

His manner was perhaps the more seductive  
Because he ne'er seem'd anxious to seduce.  
Noting affected, studied or constructive,  
Of coxcombry or conquest; no abuse  
Of his attractions marr'd the fair perspective,  
To indicate a Cupidon broke loose<sup>4</sup>  
And seem to say, 'Resist us if you can' —  
Which makes a dandy, while it spoils a man.

(Byron, *Don Juan*, XV. xii.)

<sup>1</sup> N. & Q., 19 August 1950, A. D. (Wigan).

<sup>2</sup> But then this is a composite picture, and is meant to be. For echoes from Conrad in 'A Game of Chess', see R. L. Morris in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June 1950, and A. D. in N. & Q., 8 December, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Since this article was written I have found the following remark in D. E. S. Maxwell's *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot* (London, 1952): 'The description of the lady's accumulation of scents and jewels recalls, perhaps unintentionally, the parallel scene in Pope's "The Rape of the Lock", where Belinda's toilet is described' (p. 105). Though Mr. Maxwell merely mentions this possible parallel, his remark is the more interesting as part of his book (espec. ch. II) deals with Eliot's classicism as compared with Augustan classicism.

<sup>4</sup> Quotation given in OED.

It is not Mr. Eliot's habit to pad his verse regardless of the meaning; is it then so very fanciful to imagine a Restoration or Queen Anne beau peeping out as the belle sits at her toilet, and to be reminded of 'a well-bred beau [ready] to assault a gentle belle' (*Rape of the Lock*. I, 8.)?

In *laquearia* of line 92, as explained by Mr. Eliot's own note, Dr. Melchiori sees a further proof of 'the process of mental associations which [he has] tried to follow.' To quote his own words: 'A barge on the Nile and Lamia's banquet-room have contributed to the dressing-room of Eliot's lady ... The Corinthian banquet-room in *Lamia*, lurking in the back of Eliot's mind from the beginning, recalls, this time consciously, another banquet-room in a classic poem, where Dido provides a feast for Aeneas'. The association of Dido with Cleopatra is indeed easier with the presence of *Lamia* in the background. Yet the word *laquearia* is unusual, and this passage does not make use of foreign words as do some other sections of *The Waste Land*. Even with Mr. Eliot's quotations from *Aeneid* I, 726, we are apt to open OED, where again we shall find, not *laquearia* but

† *laqueary*, sb. Obs. rare. [app. ad. L. *laquearia* (pl. of *Laquear*), treated as sing.] = *Laquear*.

1656-81 Blount Glossogr., *Laqueary*, the roof of a chamber. 1658-96 in Phillips.

If we then look up *Laquear*, we find that the term is illustrated by a 1706 quotation from Phillips<sup>5</sup> (the only other quotation from Gwilt 1859). Should we infer from this that the use of the word is restricted to late 17th and early 18th century, possibly because it was then applied to some new kind of ceiling?<sup>6</sup> Incidentally, we may add that the two churches mentioned in *The Waste Land* also belong to the Wren period: St. Mary Woolnoth (line 67) was rebuilt in 1716 and St. Magnan Martyr (line 264) is a Wren church.

What is the point of the line '*As though a window gave upon the sylvan scene*' (l. 98; italics mine)? It introduces the Milton phrase, and that is important. But why insist that the scene is looked at *from inside*? We would normally expect the 'antique mantel' to be decorated by such a classical scene, and indeed Imogen's chimney-piece had 'chaste Dian bathing'; I wonder whether the words italicized above are meant to suggest an attitude to nature wholly different from Shakespeare's and from Keats's, but not so different from that of the Pastoralists of the Restoration and Augustan age, the attitude of men and women whose life is spent in drawing-rooms and who have no direct contact with nature; an attitude which caused Pope to remark: 'I don't doubt but that a thorough-bred lady

<sup>5</sup> Philips (ed. Kersey), *Laquear* (in *Archit.*), a Roof, the inward Roof of a House; the Roof of a Chamber embowed, channelled, and done with Fret-work.

<sup>6</sup> Is the coffered ceiling of line 93 a mere repetition of *laquearia*? Though under *Coffered* OED gives no quotation earlier than 1869, yet once again *Coffer* as a term of architecture is illustrated by a quotation from Evelyn's 1664 translation of *Freart's Architecture*. I am not trying to argue that coffered ceilings are characteristic of Restoration architecture; but it is to that period we are led back if we want to make sure what *laquearia* means.

might admire the stars, *because* they twinkle like so many candles at a birth-night.' This might serve to contrast Cleopatra and the modern woman, in a poem that owes so much of its symbolism to the fertility rites.

On the other hand, the sylvan scene suggests Eden even more than nature; for the Milton phrase is brought in without any of its pictorial context, but with all its moral significance. The phrase, as Eliot's note indicates, comes from Bk. IV, l. 140 of *Paradise Lost*, and thus recalls Satan looking at the 'steep wilderness' where 'Cedar and pine and fir, and branching palm' guard the access to Eden, which Satan will invade later on. There is none of this scenery in the picture displayed on the mantelpiece; but what the picture does present is the counterpart to Milton's, the change of Philomel who was 'rudely forced' by the 'barbarous king'<sup>7</sup> (ll. 99/100). The sylvan scene upon which the window gives is 'moralised' and brings home to us the lesson of the fable; the rich sensuousness of the preceding lines with their presentation of a gorgeous setting and of the voluptuous delights of dolphin-like Antony, stands revealed for what it is: lust in its grossest form. The luxurious picture is destroyed, the 'rich profusion' cloys, only a bitter taste is left after it. "'Jug, jug" to dirty ears' (l. 103).

But it is time to remark that the opening lines (ll. 77 to 93) are a description of the *dressing-table*. 'The Chair she sat in, like a burnished throne, Glowed on the marble' (ll. 77-78), is a very close adaptation of Enobarbus' speech; but there, to use Eliot's words, 'you have the scene arrange itself', and the descriptive section ends (ll. 108-110) with the woman brushing her *hair*. The similarity with the scene in *The Rape of the Lock* does not appear until lines 84/85; if we saw at once that this is a dressing-room the point of the Shakespeare quotation would be lost. What these first lines create is an impression of grandeur that gives to the woman an almost sacred character (note also the 'sevenbranched candelabra'). Of her might be said, as of Belinda: 'Th'inferior priestess, at her altar's side, Trembling, begins the sacred rites' (*Rape of the Lock*, I, 127/8), though to add 'of pride' would not do here; the censure would come too soon and would act like cold water poured on the glowing riches of the scene. For Eliot's appeal is not, like Pope's, to an extremely alert mind that can follow the swiftly built figures of his wit, see these figures dissolve and reappear at a touch like a complicated geometrical figure.

In lines 84/85 ('The glitter of her jewels rose to meet it, From satin cases poured in rich profusion;') the treasures on the table are displayed as though pouring from a cornucopia; given the exotic setting created by the opening lines, we easily associate the jewels and their glitter with 'Unnumber'd treasures ope at once, and here The various offerings of the world appear;' (*Rape of the Lock* I, 129/30), as also with the

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<sup>7</sup> Note the complexity of the response caused by the quotation: 'sylvan scene' first suggests Eden, yet Eden as seen by the Evil one, who will soon destroy it; the picture displayed on the mantelpiece on the contrary presents the change of Philomel and suggests the inviolable voice, yet the inviolable voice is that of a woman who has been raped.



'glittering spoil' (l. 132) and with 'this casket India's glowing gems unlocks' (l. 133). The *satin* cases do not appear on Belinda's table, but surely they would be exactly right there. In Eliot's poem the strange perfumes 'lurk' 'In vials of ivory and coloured glass' (l. 86); in Pope's, 'Each silver vase [is] in mystic order laid' (l. 122) and 'all Arabia breathes from yonder box.' (l. 134), while 'the tortoise here and elephant unite, Transformed to combs, the speckled and the white.' (ll. 135/6) (note: ivory/elephant-white, and, coloured glass/(brittle)tortoise-speckled), to which Pope adds the 'shining rows' of pins and 'puffs, powders' etc....

'Powder' appears in Eliot's next line (88) with 'Unguent, powdered or liquid', which elaborate Pope's 'cosmetic powers' (l. 124); they also elaborate Eliot's 'synthetic perfumes', and thus make more obvious the similarity of the diminishing effect produced in both cases. In Pope's picture the nymph 'robed in white' with the silver vases 'in mystic order', intently ador[ing], 'with head uncovered', is suddenly robbed of her sacred character by 'the cosmetic powers' (the contrast is stressed by the rhyme: ... intent adores, / ... cosmetic powers.). In Eliot, the splendour of the orient becomes stale and cheap as we hear that the 'strange' perfumes are 'synthetic'. But there the similarity ends, for with his usual agility, Pope is already busy in the next line restoring his 'heav'nly image' to her former status, once more to make her descend from this elevated position in a minute, when the priestess 'at her altar's side, Trembling begins the sacred rites of *pride*' (again the contrast is stressed by *rites/pride*). Eliot has not Pope's light touch; on the contrary, he adds weight to his effect by elaborating, as though he were giving the elements in the synthesis! This may be clever if one realises that each of these elements is none the less 'synthetic'. The same 'analytical' process goes on in 'troubled, confused And drowned the sense in odours;' (ll. 88/9), a parallelism that is characteristic of Eliot's rhythms<sup>8</sup>. As a result, though this too has been inspired by Enobarbus' 'A strange invisible perfume hits the sense' (l. 212) we are now far from the balmy atmosphere of Cleopatra's barge. [Note that 'The busy sylphs surround their darling care' (*Rape of the Lock*, l. 145)

<sup>8</sup> What the comparison with *The Rape of the Lock* here brings home to the reader is the difference between the clear-cut, though complex, patterns of meaning in Pope, and the blurred edges of Eliot's images. In Pope, each object or thought is seen distinctly and the various attitudes to it are stated clearly, though it takes an alert reader not to miss any of the clues; one feels that the poet is more concerned with revealing the complex net than he is impressed by the contradictoriness of the relations; his task is to bring light, not to dwell on the awful darkness. With Eliot on the other hand, it seems that the paradox of the situation can never be solved; we are never sure that the evocative power of the words is not drawing us in the other direction, and we guess that the shadow is meant to accompany the light to the end. Thus: 'troubled, confused and drowned' (l. 87/88) suggest both the power of strong balmy perfumes to make faint with too much sweet, and the effect of cheap perfumes in a stifling room. Though he has used the derogatory 'synthetic' before, Eliot purposely — so it seems to me — expresses this in a way that allows for both interpretations (undecided, unresolved, 'neither flesh nor fleshless; Neither from nor towards; ... But neither arrest nor movement ...' [*Burnt Norton*]), stressing the paradox again and again, of this Past that is Present, and Present that is Past, of Beauty in Ugliness

much as Cleopatra's gentlewomen 'like the Nereides, So many mermaids, tended her i' th' eyes' (ll. 206/7)]. The odours that 'drown [...] the sense' in Eliot's poem are more likely to make one sick, so that one is glad to feel the air 'that freshened from the window' (l. 90). This impression of disgust is *not* created by Pope; however many his side-thrusts at the goddess, he never causes us to loathe her. His are finer darts, and his attitude to his 'subject' is more complex; he can count on his reader to laugh with him at the artifice that brings a 'purer blush' into the face, but he can also count on him to be sensible of the loveliness of the fair as she 'each moment rises in her charms, Repairs her smiles, awakens every grace,' (ll. 140-1). Eliot on the other hand calls forth this vision of splendour and leaves us with a stale taste in our mouths.

The splendour has not all gone yet; the next lines deal with the magnificent room, with the carved ceiling, the coloured stone and the bright burning fire, the antique mantel and the painting above it; the image of the priestess at the altar is even recalled by the candles flinging their smoke on the pattern of the ceiling. But all this will end in the rape of Philomel (ll. 99-103). In the last part of this section we are not surprised to hear the decoration of the room referred to as 'other withered stumps of time' (l. 104). By now the splendour is destroyed, and 'staring forms Lean [...] out' (ll. 105-06). Only the Ghost of Cleopatra is left, and the very richness of the room becomes oppressive, as though the barbarous king were lurking behind the staring forms.

At last something of the woman is seen: her hair 'spread out in fiery points' (l. 109). A very striking and beautiful picture indeed, on which Dr. Melchiori's quotation from Swinburne throws light. But given the text only, without this additional note, what is the reader likely to make of it? He will probably think of the glittering hair brushed in the firelight as the chief ornament of the woman<sup>9</sup>, and at this point he may remember that 'The adventurous baron *the bright locks* admired; He saw, he wish'd, and to the prize aspired. Resolved to win, he meditates the way, *By force to ravish, or by fraud betray;*' (*Rape of the Lock*, II; ll. 29-32; italics mine). For after the neurotic woman has been presented with attributes of Cleopatra, after Dido has been suggested, after so much stress has been laid on the barbarous king, we are ready to see the woman as involved in such

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and Ugliness in Beauty, of Death in Life and Life in Death. Though the paradox will not be *stated* until a much later date, yet this mode of expression that excludes nothing is suggestive of Eliot's refusal to see the human problem as an either-or alternative, and of his effort to transcend the categories of human logic and to reach 'a point not only beyond time and space but also beyond negative and positive' (J. Levy, *Synthesis and Antithesis* in the Poetry of T. S. Eliot. *Essays in Criticism*, Oct. 1952). For Pope, there is no such denial of logic; though his world may be stupid *and* lovely, yet we are expected to know exactly which it is at any given moment.

<sup>9</sup> Some readers — though probably not many — may remember that hair 'has been immemorially a symbol of fertility' (Cleanth Brooks in *Focus three*, p. 27) or that 'in folk-tales a man's soul or strength is sometimes represented as bound up with his hair' (Sir James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abridged ed., p. 680).

amorous battles. Only this is the waste land, and there is no clear fountain from which irony and gentle satire could spring. In the next section, the typist home at tea-time will be attacked by such an 'adventurous baron', only he is 'a small house agent's clerk' (l. 232); he 'assaults at once' (l. 239), also determined 'by force to ravish, or by force betray.' But the typist does not flush with anger like Belinda; she is merely indifferent, (l. 242) and when he is gone, she 'looks a moment in the glass' (l. 249), 'smoothes her hair' (l. 255), while the poet hums ... an 18th-century lyric.

I am not suggesting that all this should be linked with *The Rape of the Lock*, nor that 'not conscious' echoes are at work here. All I claim is that once the woman in the opening section of *A Game of Chess* has been associated in our minds with Belinda, it is hard not to be struck by further resemblances. The most obvious is the game of chess which the two 'lovers' will play to fill the vacancy of the afternoon. Eliot's note to this line (137) refers us to Middleton's *Women Beware Women*; the meaning is clear: a woman's honour is at stake, the game is a mere decoy (while Livia and the old mother are playing, the duke rapes Bianca). Compare with this the game of ombre in which Belinda 'Burns to encounter two adventurous knights' (*Rape of the Lock*, III, 26) which ends in her victory, but which is soon followed by her undoing; (nor should we forget Ariel's whispered warning to the belle just before she awoke: 'Beware of all, but most beware of man' (l. 114).) This game of cards is the first contest in the amorous warfare, and parts of it at least are described in such a way as to suggest the battle in which the peer is determined to win by force or fraud. Thus here too ombre is, if not a decoy, a metaphorical presentation of Belinda's encounter with Lord Petre. If we happen to think of this passage when reading *A Game of Chess* we shall feel more keenly the difference between the 18th-century belle and the modern woman, but we shall also discover that their predicament is the same. If we superimpose the story of Belinda on that of Cleopatra, Philomel, Bianca, Dido ..., we may be struck by the vulgarity of the contemporary situation, in which as in the world of the Jacobean dramatists, no effort is made to gloss over the raw instincts; but at the same time we shall see through the culture of the polite world in *The Rape of the Lock*, in which true values were as little honoured as they are in the present Waste Land. If the key to life is now lost, if the voice of the prophet crying in the wilderness is not heard by men, if all our culture amounts to is a heap of broken images, neither was the cultured world of Belinda sound, even though their games were more decent, more 'correct'. For that is what Pope himself suggested delicately, but none the less unmistakably, in his pointed couplets. There is no escaping his irony at the confusion of values that obtained in the society of his beaux and belles; whether he placed on Belinda's dressing-table shining rows of 'Puffs, powders, patches, Bibles, billets-doux' (l. 138) or feared equally a stain on her honour and a stain on her lovely brocade (II. 107).



Again Belinda's lament after the fatal lock has been cut 'Happy! ah ten times happy had I been, If Hampton Court these eyes had never seen! Yet I am not the first mistaken maid,' (IV, 149/51) has a double-edged irony in it; not only at the excessive grief for the loss of a lock, but because the grief might be no greater if she had indeed lost her honour. So that when the modern girl says in *The Waste Land*: 'Richmond and Kew Undid me' (293/4), though Eliot refers us to Dante, we wonder whether the girl is more concerned about her undoing than she would be for the loss of any of her belongings, and Pope's irony comes to play over this section of *The Fire Sermon*.

It comes all the more easily as another element links this scene with that of *The Rape of the Lock* (besides the nearness of Hampton Court to Richmond or Kew). The third movement of *The Waste Land* takes up the image of Cleopatra's barge and of her nymphs; but now instead of the rich splendour of the Orient, we find the sweet music of Spenser's *Prothalamion*, we see Elizabeth and Leicester gliding in their barge, and we see the Thames daughters of to-day 'supine on a floor of a narrow canoe' (l. 295). The Nereides and mermaids of Cleopatra call up the 'Flocke of Nymphes' along the 'silver streaming Themmes' of Spenser, but now 'The nymphs are departed. And their friends, the loitering heirs of city directors; Departed,' (ll. 179/81). Might not this also suggest the 'Fair nymphs and well-dress'd youths' 'on the bosom of the silver Thames', gliding in 'the painted vessel' towards Hampton Court? (*Rape of the Lock*, II, 5, 4, 47). This association comes the more readily as we seem to hear in Pope's poem echoes from Spenser<sup>10</sup> and also from the river scene in *Antony and Cleopatra*<sup>11</sup>. Common to the Cleopatra scene and the Belinda scene is the sense of Fate; and the 20th-century 'nymphs' glide, like Belinda, to 'some dire disaster' (II, 103), which contrasts with Spenser's happy marriage song. If we compare the two 'situations' we shall be struck by the 'beating of hearts', the 'careful thoughts' of the sylphs, their anxiety to protect the Belle and to ward off Fate; in the 20th-century picture, on the contrary, no such feelings are involved, the 'honour' at stake does not seem to be of great value. Even granting that the busy care of the sylphs is part of the mock-heroic design, and that they do not know 'whether the nymph shall break Diana's law, Or some frail China-jar receive a flaw;' (II, 105/6), yet the cold statements of the Eliot poem contrast with this over-anxious concern for the lovely Belinda: on the one hand, anxiety for everything; on the other, indifference to everything.

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<sup>10</sup> The 'melting music', II, 49; the 'soften'd sounds' that 'along the waters die', II, 50; the 'meads for ever crown'd with flowers', III, I; 'the rising towers', III, 2, where 'Britain's statesmen oft the fall foredoom Of foreign tyrants', III, 5/6.

<sup>11</sup> 'The gilded mast', II, 69; the 'purple pinions' II, 71; the 'soft aërial whispers' over the shroud 'that seem'd but zephyrs', II, 57/8; the sylphs that 'waft on the breeze', or 'sink in clouds of gold' II, 60; the 'Transparent forms, too fine for mortal sight', II, 61; the 'loose airy garments', II, 63; 'thin glittering textures', 64; Ariel 'on the gilded mast', II, 69.

The comparison with Pope may appear particularly inadequate in view of Eliot's attitude to 'his poet'. But whatever Eliot the critic may have to say about the poetry of Pope, one is bound to compare their methods. Pope would probably have agreed with Eliot as to the relation between originality and tradition. His definition of wit shows him to be searching not for new thoughts but for a better dress in which to express 'what oft was thought'. Hence his use of earlier poetry, from which he quotes at least as much as Eliot, though possibly for a different purpose; Pope's 'correctness' cannot be fully appreciated unless we realise the difference from the source. Pope was conscious of writing within a tradition; Eliot seems to be striving to make the tradition live again. Pope could count on his readers' acquaintance with the works of the past; when he quoted, or adapted, Milton he was sure that his readers would note both the similarity and the difference<sup>12</sup>. Very often his full meaning depends on these suggestions. Eliot too, especially in *The Waste Land*, has brought in shreds from the poetic tradition to bear on his theme; in fact, his theme is inseparable from the poetic tradition if we are to see this *Waste Land* not as a post-war disintegrating world only, but as the land without water, whatever the time. The comparison with, and the suggestions from, other poems bring into play elements that give the theme its full significance. Eliot may use these quotations or near quotations to show the similarity, and the difference, of themes, motifs, atmosphere ..., while Pope may be more concerned with the 'expression', with the words themselves. Yet both are closely dependent on the poetic tradition.

On the other hand, Eliot often writes, quite consciously, in styles of earlier ages, and his use of Jacobean blank verse, for instance, is not simply an experiment, it is to a certain extent a pastiche (no pejorative meaning implied!). He is also supposed to have attempted the Popian couplet, though the poems in that style were destroyed on Pound's advice<sup>13</sup>. It is therefore hard to believe that Eliot, who is so sensitive to individual rhythms, has not been impressed by Pope's originality in this respect. Such a careful student of the poetry of the past cannot but have devoted some time to the 'little nightingale'. Though Eliot has not found Pope as great a poet as Dryden, may not some echoes from Pope's work have lingered in his mind?

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

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<sup>12</sup> 'It is necessary to extend historical study to the smaller concern of Pope's phrasing. He not only wishes to express well what oft was thought, but to express better what was oft expressed well. His phrasing is often a flag planted on towers which others have reared. And he intends his readers to see the towers and the flag together, to mark what brick or marble it is that has been made arresting.' (Geoffrey Tillotson, Preface to *The Rape of the Lock* p. VI, Twickenham ed., Vol. II.)

<sup>13</sup> This information was kindly supplied by Mr. F. W. Bateson.

## Reviews

*Die Englische Sprache. Ihre Geschichtliche Entwicklung.* Von KARL BRUNNER. Erster Band. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1950. XIX, 352 pp. DM 12.— (geb. 13.80). Zweiter Band. Idem, 1951. 424 pp. DM. 13.— (geb. 14.80).

## (Concluded)

Concerning the demonstrative pronouns preceding the relative particle *þe* the author says: 'Diese Pronomina stimmen in Kasus und Numerus mit dem Beziehungswort des Relativsatzes im Hauptsatz überein und stehen nicht in der vom Verbum des Relativsatzes geforderten Flexionsform.' This is contradicted by: Christ & Satan 209, 'þonne behofað *se þe* her wunað ... *þæt* him wlite scine'; Guthlac 384, 'þonne hit men duge *se þe* ... þeodnes willan dreogaþ'; Beow. 1341, 'þæs *þe* þincean mæg þegne monegum *se þe* æfter sinc-gyfan on sefan greoteþ'; Elene 302, 'ge to deaþe þone deman ongunnon, *se þe* of deaþe worn awehte'; Ælfred, Bede I, 23, 'þa eallreordan þeode, *þara þe* hi ða gereorde ne cūpan, gesecan.'

On p. 135 II we read: 'Zum Unterschied von Demonstrativen vor *þe* stehen aber solche alleinstehende Demonstrativa ... in dem vom Verbum des Relativsatzes geforderten Kasus'. However: Elene 1194, 'bið ... *se* hwæteadig wigge weorðod, *se þæt* wicg byreð' (= whom the horse carries); Beow. 2777, 'Bill ær gescod *þam þara* maðma mund-bora wæs (sceddan + dative); Resignation (in Exeter Bk. ed. Krapp) 67, 'þe sie ealles þonc meorda ond miltsa *þara þu* me sealdest'.

In the discussion of the appearance of the form *whose* of the relative pronoun (p. 141 II) it might have been pointed out that before its use was well established the collocations *þe his*, *þe heora*, *þæt his* etc. were very frequently used in the same function: Elene 162, 'se god ... *þe þis* his beacen wæs'; Charter of Oswald 44, 'for higna lufon ge ðeare saula, ðe hær beforan *hiora* namon auuritene siondon' (= whose names are written here before); O.E. Chronicle an. 885, 'se wæs Karles sunu *þe* Æþelwulf ... *his* dohter hæfde him to cuene'; Havelok 28, 'It was a king bi are dawes *þat* in *his* time were gode lawes'; Chaucer, C. T. D2017, 'Whilom ther was an irous potestat ... *that* duringe *his* estaat Upon a day out ryden knyghtes two'.

P. 157 II 'das flektierte Passivum ..., das im Gothischen noch voll ausgebildet ist'. Only in the present tense, that is.

English is said (p. 268 II) to show a predilection for passive constructions 'weil sie die Beziehung von Subjekt zu Prädikat deutlicher zum Ausdruck bringen, als die aktiven'. Does this mean that the relation between *he* and *was punished* in 'he was punished' is more distinct than that between *we* and *punished* in 'we punished him'?

On p. 269 II the passive construction is described as being made or manufactured from the active construction. That this view is psychologically untenable has already been often demonstrated.



P. 269 II: 'Mit intransitiven Verben erscheint diese passive Konstruktion (type 'I am sent for') erst Ende 14. Jahrh.' However: c1330 Arthur & Merlin (Kölbing) 852 'þis maiden ... feled al so bi her þi, þat sche was yleyen bi.'

What is said (p. 277/8 II) about the use of *will* 3rd person singular in the type 'children will play', may give the impression that this idiom arose in early modern English ('schon bei Shakespeare'). Compare, however: Ælfrēd, Orosius VII, 230, 'Elpentēs hyd *wile* drincan wætan zelice spyngedeb'; c1280 Southern Passion (EETS) 919, 'whanne þe shephurde is ysmyte, þe shep *wolleþ* to sprede'. This *will* had a rival in *shall*, e.g. 12... Bestiary, The Lion 12, 'ðanne he (the lion) *leþ* slepen, *sal* he nevre luken ðe lides of his egen'; c1374 Chaucer, Compl. of Anel. 346, 'the swan, I have heard seye, ... Ayeyns his deeth *shal* singen his penaunce'. The author's earliest instance of the type 'A covetous man will call himself poor' is from the Spectator. However: 1000 St. Basil's Admon. IV (1849) 44, 'se well-willende man *wyle* forberan, zif hine man ahwær tynþ'; c1280 Southern Passion (EETS) 1222, 'ffor skorn (he) carf his owe cloþes as gywes *wolleþ* by wone'.

*To be about* in Middle English cannot be paralleled with *to be going* in Modern English (as the author does p. 279 II), since it had an entirely different meaning (= to be scheming, to aim at, to set out to). Cf.: c1200 Vices & V. (EETS) 133, 'to feawe men bien abuten to habben ðese hali mihte'; 1541 R. Barnes, Wks. (1573) 325, 2, 'The deuell hath beene of long tyme aboute to bring in this snare for priests' (OED). It is therefore not an 'Ausdrucksweise für eine zukünftige Handlung'.

On p. 280 II it is said: 'In der Bildung dieser Zeitformen (scil. perfect tenses) tritt in me. Zeit kaum eine Änderung ein: die Partizipia der intransitiven Verba (die also kein Akkusativobjekt verlangen) werden mit *sein*, die transitiven mit *haben* verbunden, doch wird "sein" selbst ... nur mit *haben* verbunden'. It is, however, well known that in Old and in early Middle English a considerable number of intransitive verbs was already construed with *have*, e.g.: Ælfrēd, Orosius 4, 12, 'Romane *hæfde* geworden hwene ær þæt he on Asiam faran sceolde'; Juliana 677, 'Hy to lande geliden *hæfdon*'; Judith 260, 'Hu þone cumbolwigan wið ða mægð *hæfde* geworden'; Battle of Maldon 1550, '*Hæfde* þa forsiðod sunu Ecgþeowes'; Ælfric, Genesis 44, 4, 'Hig *hæfdon* sumne dæl weges gefaren'; Ags. Laws (Thorpe) I, 232, 19, 'Ær ælc man *hæbbe* ane ride geriden'; Christ & Satan 62, '*Habbap* we ealle for þinum leasungum lyðre gefered'; O. E. Chron. (Plummer) 1010 'þa hi swa feor gegan *hæfdon* swa hi woldon'; idem (Laud MS) an. 1070, 'In þære cyrce þet ær *hæfde* standen'; c1175 Lamb. Hom. 47, 'þa he *hefede* þer ane hwile istonde'; c1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 103, 'Ariset þanne ze *hauen* seten'; idem 7, 'longe we *habben* lein on ure synnes'; c1205 Lay. 283, '*Heuede* Eneas... widen iwalken'.

Where the author says (p. 284 II): 'Die Verwendung des Plusquamperfekts ist nicht so weitgehend üblich geworden', he might have drawn attention to the fact that *had* + past participle was extremely frequently used (especially in earlier English) to (help)

express modality, e.g.: Curs. M. 14256, 'Had þou wit vs bene, mi broþer *had* noght ben ded'.

The words 'ganz allgemein' render the following statement (p. 284 II) too absolute: 'Wenn die Vorzeitigkeit einer Handlung aus dem Zusammenhang deutlich ist oder durch Adverbien klar wird, verwendet man besonders in Nebensätzen ... ganz allgemein das einfache Praeteritum und nicht die zusammengesetzte ... Form'. Cf. c1175 Lamb. Hom. 47, 'þa he *hefede* þer ane hwile *istonde*, þa bicom his licome swiðe feble'; Chaucer, C. T. D1733, 'whan this frere *had seyð* al his entente, with qui cum patre forth his wey he wente'; idem G1171, 'till he *had terved* hym, he koude nat blynne'; idem, Troilus IV, 1170, 'so after that he longe *had compleyned*, ... He gan the teris wipen off'; Wyclif, Mt. XXI, 17, 'whanne he *hadde lefte* hem: he wente forth out of the cite'; idem, Mt. XXI, 44, 'whann the ... pharises *hadden herd* hise parablis, they knewen that he seide of hem'; idem, Mt. XXII, 7, 'the king whanne he *hadde herde*: was wroth', etc.

'Wechsel der Tempora innerhalb einer zusammenhängenden Erzählung und erst recht innerhalb einer Satzperiode wird im Englischen vermieden' (p. 286 II). Since no special period is mentioned, and this is an historical work, the statement gives the impression that this avoidance of incongruity occurred in all periods. It is, however, well known that enallage of tenses was a common feature of Middle English poetry, e.g.: Gen. & Exodus (in Hall, Selections 91), 'Putifar *trewið* his wives tale, And *haued dempt* iosep to bale; He *bad* ben sperd (him) faste dun ...'; Floris & Bl. 183, 'Clarice ... aros up in þe more-ȝentide And *hap cleped* Blauncheflur'; Chaucer C. T. G533, 'half deed ... He *lefte* hir lye, and on his wey *is went*'; idem G1258, 'this preest hym *bisieth* in al he *kan* ... and faste he *blew* the fir'.

To say that *to do* is used in 'negierten Sätzen' (pp. 299, 303) implies that it is used in sentences with *never*, *hardly* etc.

It may be questioned whether in 'I did diligently collect and gather together as many of ...' the verb *to do* is used for the reason given on p. 302: 'So konnte man dadurch zwei oder mehrere zu demselben Subjekt gehörende Verba miteinander verbinden'. Are the verbs not as intimately connected in 'I collected and gathered'?

Was inversion of subject and predicate 'die normale damalige (scil. at the time of the introduction of periphrastic *to do*) Wortstellung' in sentences opening with an adverbial adjunct (Type 'Then put I')? (p. 302 II). There are numerous instances of sentences without inversion which disprove this statement, e.g.: Ælfric, Grammar, 'Hwilon *ic dyde* swa'; Blickl. Hom. 63, 7, 'On ðone dæg he *sende* ðone Halgan Gast'; Layamon 711, 'þonne *men gað* to bedde'; idem 1546, 'þane he *wule* ... scaðe bock radde'; idem 716, 'þær þu *findest* seouen hounded'; idem 7480, 'Hardli he *heowen*'; Owl & N. 232, 'Euer he *cuf* þat he comme þenne'; idem 127, 'Her-bi *men seggeþ* a bispel'; Beket 1119 (in S. Eng. Leg.) I, 138, 'Al North-ward he *drouz* him furst'; Rob. Glouc. (Rolls) 6836, 'Neuereft *hii* of denemarch hiderward ne come'; idem 8277, 'zut sone þer after an *oþer* com al so'; R. Brunne, Medit. 67, 'Here by þou *mayst lere*'; Curs. M. 10042, 'Their *buxumnes* holt her state'; idem 20258, 'þar *i sal* be'; idem 12953, 'Hardli he *zode* him nere'; idem, 6568, 'Here efter *it sal* sare rew zou'; Chaucer, C. T., Prol. 260, 'there he was nat lyk a Cloystrer'; idem, Knt's T. 2181, 'And here agayn *no creature* ... *awayleth* for to stryue'; Langl., P. Pl. A XII, 139, 'And þanne *I kneled* on my knee'; Wyclif, Sam. II, 16, 'forsothe nowe *thow schalt ȝyue*'; Three Kings Cologne 118, 'þere þei *leuyd* .ij. zere'; Trevisa, Higden (Rolls) I, 57, 'þanne þe *see schedep* norþward'; Melusine 360, 'neuer tofore *they herd* of suche a thing'; idem 121, 'as for now *I shall* reste of hym';

Tyndale, Mt. XXII, 27, 'Laste of all *the woman dyed* also'; idem, Mk. I, 31, 'By and by *the fever left* her'; etc., etc. (very frequent in St. Th. More). It can therefore not be argued that the inverted order was one of the causes of the introduction of *to do* (p. 302 II).

Of the coordination of *do* with other auxiliaries (p. 303) earlier examples than those from Donne and Pepys might have been given, e.g. St. Th. More Wks. 107, H5, 'I neither *do* nor *can* beleue the contrary'; idem 8899, 'the whole people ... *do* and wel *may* thinke that ...'.

It may be doubted whether *doȝ* stands for *dop* in: 'ȝwane we in Godes service beoth, we ne *doȝ* nouȝt ore ordre breke'. Is it not a form of the verb *dow* (O.E. *dugan*) with the sense *to become, fit, behove*?

Seeing that sentences with (non-initial) *never* and *hardly* are construed without periphrastic *do*, it is hard to believe that the fact that "In der negation liegt immer eine gewisse Emphase" should have been one of the causes of the development of the periphrastic construction.

'Weiter steht sie (scil. the construction with *do*) nicht bei den Verben *do* ..., *have* ..., *dare*, *need*, wenn sie selbständig verwendet werden.' (p. 303 II) The random examples of *do* with *have* and *do* which the author pitches upon leave the subject inadequately treated. A reference to Gerhard Dietrich's *Die Syntax der 'do'-Umschreibung bei 'have', 'be', 'ought', and 'used'* (1949) would have been in place here.

From a historical point of view it does not seem entirely correct to say (p. 305 II) that *do* is not used in 'Fragesätzen, deren Subjekt ein Fragepronomen ist und daher vor dem Verbum steht', since instances of the use of *do* in this sort of questions are not lacking in earlier English, e.g. c1450, Ludus Cov., 182, 145, 'Who was owre mayster who *dede* ow teche?'; 1470-85, Malory, M. d'A. 197, 16, 'O thou fals knyght and traytour ... who *did* lerne the to dystresse ladyes and gentlywymmen'; a1568 Ascham, Scholem. (Arber) 20, 47, 'what *did* chieflie allure you to it?'; 1599 Rob. Greene, Alphonsus (Mermaid) IV, iii, 10, 'What fond or frantic fit *Did* make those careless kings to venture it?'; 1601 Shakesp., Tw. Night V, i, 140, 'Who *does* beguile you? Who *does* do you wrong?'

In an historical treatment of the 'Inkongruenz zwischen Subjekt und Prädikat' (p. 308 II) a few words might have been said about the remarkable singular form of the verb frequently used in O.E. after the relative *para þe*: Beow. 842, 'secga ænegum *para þe* tirleases trode *sceawode*'; idem 1684, 'woroldcyninga ðæm selestan ... *para þe* on Scedenigge *sceattas dælde*'; idem 996; 1051; 1407; 2130; 2251; Christ 275; 892; Daniel 615; Dream Rood 85; etc.

'Stets mit *to* konstruiert wird *ought*.' (p. 314 II) This is inaccurate from a historical standpoint: OED s.v. *ought* 5b (B) cites numerous instances without *to* from a1200-1868, e.g. Shakespeare's 'you *ought* not walke Vpon a labouring day'. (Here, as well as in a few more places, the author fails to tell the reader to what period he is referring.)

Equally inaccurate from an historical viewpoint is the statement: 'Nie ohne *to* wird *be* als infinitive Ergänzung gebraucht, z.B. "We know it *to be* false".' In earlier English, however, the 'absence' of *to* was regular idiom, e.g. Ælfred, Boeth. 610, 10, 'and nænigne ... ne butan ðe ic gemette ... abysegod *beon*'; Curs. M. 15468 (Cotton), 'To do his lauerd *be* tan'; Arth. & Merlin 6803, 'Woleway ... þat ich euer schuld sen þus muche rewþe on erþe *ben*'; Alex. & Dind. 534, 'So wis wenst þou *þe be*'; Sir Ferumb. 1853, 'Othre relyqes dere, þat þou duest a-way *be* born'; Rom. Rose 258, 'se any grete lynage *Be* brought'; St. Th. More, Wks. 49 D16, 'necessitie to haue the childe *bee* withe the mother'; idem 1196 H1, 'we know our sacramentes *be* effectual signes'; idem 70 A1, 'he would make him *be* caried';



idem 134 G8, 'he made him be set ... in the stockes'; 1647 W. Browne, tr. Gomberv. Pollex. III, v, 134, 'Get him be propitious to thee' (OED).

'Passive Verba verlangen stets eine Infinitivergänzung mit *to*, z.B. "... is often seen to smile"' (p. 314 II). In O.E., in M.E. and in early Modern English there are numerous instances of this construction without *to*, e.g. Blickl. Hom. 157,34, 'nu syndon gesette þa apostolas inhlet æ hie bodian hire'; Ælfred, Bede 497,23, þonne biþ ongyten þær syn gefremed beon [tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici]; Chaucer, House F., I, 355, 'That I ne shall be seyde ... Yshamed be'; idem C. T. D1030, 'this knyght was bode appeare'; Hoccleve, Reg. Princ., 622, 'he may be herde speke'; Lancelot 1130, 'Neuer ... was sen No man ... more knyghtly hym conten'; Berners, Froiss. III, 7, 'he may be herde speke'; Earl Rivers (Caxton), Dictes 57, 'till he be boden speke'; St. Th. More, Wrks. 257 F9, 'he was bidde walke'; idem 24 C11, 'His fleshe was suffred rebell'; Shakesp., Jul. C., IV, i, 35, 'he must be bid go forth'; idem Othello I, iii, 15, 'So I was bid report'; Ben Jonson, Magn. Lady II, i, 89, 'I am no saint ... to be urged give health'.

'Ae. sind diese passiven Infinitive (type *shall be done*) noch selten'. To avoid misunderstanding it might have been added that this holds good only for the construction with *be*, since the construction with *weorðan* was extremely common in O.E., e.g. Elene 580, 'sceal awended weorðan'; Christ 1616, 'scyle ascyred weorðan'; Elene 687, 'scealt cwymed weorðan'; Andreas 437, 'sceal 3eþyd weorðan'; idem 758, 'cenned sceolde weorðan'; idem 890; 952; Ælfred, Boeth., Metr. XXV, 72, 'þeah he oferwunnen weorðan sceolde'; idem Orosius 248, 11, 'sceolde weorðan geboren'; idem Bede 230,9, 'bebyrged beon sceolde'; Blickl. Hom. 77,29, 'sceolde abrocen weorðan', etc.

From the statement (p. 319 II): 'Bei Shakespeare steht der aktive Infinitiv noch in Fällen mit passiver Bedeutung, wo man heute den passiven setzen würde' (type: *what is to do*?) the unwary reader might erroneously infer that the type: *it was to be done* does not (yet) occur in Shakespeare; as a matter of fact it is of frequent occurrence in his works, especially in the prose parts, e.g. Ado IV, iii, 96; IV, ii, 7; I, iii, 69; III, v, 39; Wint. T. IV, iii, 702; IV, i, 24; IV, iii, 803; V, iii, 46; All's III, vi, 54; Hamlet V, i, 1 (Q<sup>2</sup>), etc. (See my article in *Engl. Studies* 1944, p. 23.) Already in St. Th. More the construction with *to be* was the usual one.

P. 325 II: 'Zusammengesetzte Formen (i.e. consisting of *being* + past participle) mit der Bedeutung einer Zukunft sind auch heute noch nicht möglich.' What about: Spenser, F. Q. III, iv, 50, 'feare of being fowly shent' and Chas. I, Lett., in Antiquary I, 97, 'The feare of being brought within the power of the army.' (Cf. what the author says about futurity in 'I intend seeing him'.)

'Weiter steht die Form auf *-ing* nach Präpositionen, weil solche (ausser dem formalen *to*) vor dem Infinitiv nicht gebraucht werden können.' (P. 327 II.) Here again the historical outlook is to seek: there are numerous examples of infinitives after prepositions, e.g. Vices & V. 33, 28, 'Pine þe seluen on fasten ... and on þine awene wille to laten'; Orm 6359, 'wiþþ uhhtennsang, & wiþþ to letenn swingenn himm þe bodiz'; Ancr. R. 344, 1, 'of prude ..., of sitten to longe et þurle ..., of scheden crumen ..., of keorfunge oper of hurtunge'; Hali Maydh. 5, 'þat ha na wiht ne þarf of þing þenchen bute an of hire leofmon cwemen'; St. Marherete 34, 31, 'pah se feor & se forþ ha mahen beon istopen in sotliche to luuien'; Curs. M. 6680, 'wit-uten raunscun for to quitte'; Bk. of Vices & V. 225, 25, '(To kepe) þe naseþerles from to moche haue delite in goode metes'; Cloud of Unknowing 34, 15, 'þou maist bi grace come to for to grope it'; idem 115, 24,

'by hem ... may a soule neuer come to for to knowe þe vertewe'; Caxton, Eneyd. XVIII, 68, 'wythout to make me a knowen thereof'; idem Paris & V. 32, 'wythout to make (Fr. *sans faire*) only semblaunce of Love'; J. de Flores' Aurelic F 6, 'without to see it whiche is writen' (OED); Spenser F. Q. III, 12, 35, 'Nought may save thee from to dy.'

The statement on p. 328 II: 'Von den beiden as. Partizipien ist das Partizipium Praesens stets aktiv, Ausnahmen (e.g. *the house is building*) sinds scheinbar.' is contradicted by that on p. 340 II: 'Im passiven Sinn wird in einigen as. Beispielen die aktive Form verwendet.'

'Zum deutlicheren Ausdruck passiven Verhältnisses im Präsens ... bildet man, etwa gleichzeitig mit solchen Bildungen beim Verbalsubstantiv, auch passive Part. Präs. *being beaten* ...' (P. 329 II). Not 'gleichzeitig' (i.e. 'seit dem 16. Jahrh.'), but much earlier e.g.: 1470-85, M. d'A. 169, 'the kyng *beyng* set at his dinner ...'; 1422 Ellis, Orig. Lett.<sup>2</sup> I, 96, 'by meane whereof he *being* sore febeled and debrused ...'; 1450 Paston L. (Gairdner) no. 101, 124, 'the seid Duke of Suffolk *being* reteyned with you in your wages of werr ... hath eftē ...' The usage was already well established in St. Th. More. (See: Visser, *A Syntax of the Language of St. Th. More* I, p. 441.)

To adduce only examples with *to wish* and *to want* (p. 333 II) to demonstrate that the infinitive in the 'object + infinitive construction' (type: 'I want everybody to be happy') is inchoative, 'also eine beginnende oder beabsichtigte Handlung ausdrückt', is misleading, since there is no inchoative implication at all when instead of *wish* or *want* a verb is used that does not refer to a future action or happening, e.g.: 'I suspect him to be the culprit', 'she felt her feet to be stone-cold', 'these views we believe to be fair and true', 'unlocking the case, he found it to contain a necklace'. One wonders moreover how the above statement can be reconciled with that on p. 331 II, where the infinitive (in 'I saw a dog swim across the river') is called 'perfektivisch', 'also die bereits vollendete Handlung ausdrückt.'

What the author says about Aktionsarten (p. 335 II) is not up to date. The erroneousess of Streitberg's views (to which the author adheres) regarding their occurrence in non-Slavonic languages has been pointed out in several monographs and articles, none of which are mentioned in the bibliography on p. 336 II (e.g. Koschmieder, *Zeitbezug und Sprache*, Leipzig 1929; Trnka, *On the Syntax of the Engl. Verb from Caxton to Dryden*, Prague 1930 p. 32 ('The fallacy of Streitberg's conception is ... evident to all Slavonic philologists'); N. v. Wijk, 'Aspect en Aktionsart', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* XXII, 1928; Schönfeld, *Hist. Grammatica v. h. Nederlandsch*, Zutphen 1932 p. 149 §111; Mirowitz, *Die Aspektfrage im Gotischen*, 1935; Meyer, on Mirowitz, *Die Aspektfrage*, in *Indog. Forsch.* LV, 2, 1935; Zatočil, *Zur Gotischen Syntax* 1935; Edw. Sehrt, on Zatočil, in *J. E. G. Ph.* XXXIV, 1935, p. 432.

From the statement (p. 338 II): 'Me. kommen diese Ausdrücke (scil. *he was on huntynge*) vom 13. Jahrh. an vor und werden besonders im 15. Jahrh. immer häufiger, auch mit Abschwächung der Präposition *on* zu *a*' it might be inferred that *a* for *on* appeared in the 15th c., especially because the earliest instance the author adduces is from the Stonor Letters. The reduced form, however, already occurs in the beginning of the 13th c., e.g.: c1205 Layam., Brut, 12326, 'þus Gratien þe king for ut *an slæting*'; idem 29170, 'Hit was in ane dæie þat Gurmund mid his duzeþe ... riden a *slatinge*'; idem 12304, 'Toward þan kinge heo weoren beien þær he was *an slæting* (in 2nd MS: *an hontynge*).

On p. 339 II it is said: 'Periphrastische Futura (type: *shall be writing*)

sind im allgemeinen selten, nur im Norden und in Schotland sind sie im 14. und 15. Jahrh. häufiger.' This may be doubted, since they are not infrequently met with from the O.E. period on, e.g. *Ælfred*, Bede 216,4, 'ge *sculon dælnomende beon his wiita*'; *Ælfric*, Lives of Saints XII, 268, 'We *sceolen beon þeonde symble on godnysse*' (Cf. *Wulfstan* 305,29, 'Heo *tymende na leng beon ne mæg*'); *Vices & V.* 121, 10, 'We *sceolden beon rewsende ure sennen*'; idem 23, 'Mann *þe wile beon riwsinde*, ne rewe him naught ane hise sennes'; *Curs. M.* 22166, 'þai *sal be studiand*'; idem (in *Morris-Skeat*, Spec. II, 71, 59), 'þis king we *sal be offrand* nu, And honour him with truthes tru, Al þe *kinges of þis werld* For him *sal be quakand*'.<sup>1</sup>

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*Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition.* By D. W. ROBERTSON, JR. and B. F. HUPPÉ. (Princeton Studies in English, No. 31). Princeton University Press, 1951. xiv + 259 pp. Price \$4.00.

It is almost six hundred years ago since Langland's Vision concerning Piers the Plowman was written: six centuries, during which ideas and ideals have changed almost beyond recognition. Especially in the case of a theological and allegorical poem such as Langland's there is a by no means imaginary danger of misinterpretation by the introduction of twentieth-century ideas into the fourteenth-century poem. Many commentators have tried to avoid this danger by making use of medieval materials: patristic and scholastic writings, Bible glosses, etc. to throw light upon obscure passages. Such materials have also been used by Robertson and Huppé for their systematic study of Langland's work in the light of medieval theology.

Their starting-point is the large number of Scriptural quotations, so abundant in all parts of the poem. They have pointed out that these quotations are not merely illustrations of the English text but were woven

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<sup>1</sup> Owing to its conciseness my comment on the treatment of the 'prop-word' one (February issue p. 29) may be misunderstood and thus seem unfair, since the words 'Italian', 'accused', 'deceased', 'dear' and 'Swiss', referred to in my question: 'What about?', do occur in Prof. Brunner's discussion of the subject. The reason of my mentioning 'an Italian' was to point out that the author omits to say that his 'rule' regarding the usage with 'Sammelname für alle Angehörigen einer Volksgruppe' only holds good for the very small number of adjectives in *-sh* and *-ch*, such as *English* and *French*. I mentioned 'the accused's character' and 'the deceased's friends' to show that the statement 'dasz man von ihnen keine Genetive auf *-s* bildet' is not unassailable. With regard to 'dear' I doubted whether this adjective can be syntactically bracketed with 'savage', 'native', for, although 'you're a dear' is recognised idiom, 'a dear came up to me' or 'two dears were smiling at me' — unlike 'two savages came up to me' — can hardly be called normal English. For the inclusion in my remark of the word 'Swiss' — which is duly dealt with on pp. 17 and 76 — I beg to offer my apology.



into this text with deliberate intention and great skill, forming the framework of the poem and determining its meaning. Moreover, these quotations should not be taken at their face-value, but must be considered in the light of the traditions of Scriptural exegesis, which in the Middle Ages never stopped at the purely literal sense but always looked for the sense behind the sense: the allegorical *sentence*. The authors have, therefore, consulted the medieval allegorizing Bible commentaries and have made these commentaries their guide to the true meaning of the poem.

In itself this method is admirable, and the authors have often succeeded in making the allegorical characters stand out more clearly and in bringing out the three allegorical levels (allegorical, anagogical, and tropological) which are all present in the poem.

Yet we should not forget that there are certain difficulties and dangers that attend the application of this method. We must not expect, for instance, that the commentaries will provide us with one single explanation of any given text. On the contrary, very often there exist side by side several variant interpretations, all equally authoritative. Making a choice between these variants often proved difficult; several days were needed to come to a decision. (R & H, p. 16.) More important still is the obvious fact that before defining the allegorical meaning of a passage one should first find out whether such a meaning was intended by the poet. Over-allegorization, especially at important parts of the poem, will have disastrous results: the whole structure of allegorical interpretation, built up so laboriously, will fail to fit the foundations of the poem and may come toppling down at the slightest touch.

Unfortunately Robertson and Huppé have not succeeded in avoiding this dangerous trap but have rather fallen into it headlong. For not only have they over-allegorized passages that contain Scriptural quotations, they have also thought it necessary to supply texts and commentaries at places where there are no such quotations in the text: '... When a portion of the poem contained no Biblical text *and could not be understood entirely from its context*, we attempted to ascertain its Biblical milieu through the use of a concordance or of a *répertoire exégétique*, ...' (p. 16; italics mine). In such cases the literal meaning is not considered sufficient to stand as a meaning in its own right. If, however, Langland was so careful as to indicate the trend of his allegory by the insertion of Scriptural texts, it becomes hard to believe that he should have failed to do so at crucial points of his argument. It is clear that this procedure opens the door to any amount of over-interpretation.

One of the most important cases occurs at the very beginning of the poem. The first people the dreamer sees are the plowmen:

Some putten hem to þe plow      pleyed ful selde,  
 In settyng and in sowyng      swonken ful harde,  
 And wonnen that wastours      with glotonye destruyeth.  
 And some putten hem to pruyde      apparailled hem þere-after,  
 In contenance of clothynge      comen disgisid.      (B Pr. 20-24.)

According to R. and H. the plowmen are the representatives of the prelatical status, whilst the proud are their imitators: false priests. Thus one of the main themes of the whole poem is 'discovered': true and false preaching. That *hereafter* should be taken to refer to the plowmen and not to pruyde is hard to believe, for in medieval treatises on the Deadly Sins the connection between pride and splendour of clothing is always felt to be very close. More serious, however, is the fact that the authors quote several commentaries to prove that plowmen must be explained here in terms of the priesthood. Langland gives no such indication whatever in this passage and keeps it entirely on the literal level.

No wonder, then, that the great Plowman, Piers, can be nothing else but the true representative of the prelatical status who provides spiritual food for his flock. The authors quote lines from P. XIX, where Piers' oxen are the four Evangelists and his seed the four cardinal virtues. It is, however, by no means certain that Piers remains a constant symbol all through the poem; it is more probable that different aspects of Piers are shown in different parts of the poem, so that the evidence adduced here by R. and H. is no definite proof that Piers in the *Visio* also stands for the true priest. In fact, this interpretation gives rise to more difficulties than it can solve.

A few of these difficulties may be mentioned here:

1. It is by no means necessary to take the plowman's work in the sense of the spiritual work of the status prelatorum. The authors give no explanation of Piers' activities where he (the priesthood!) is engaged

In tailoures crafte and tynkeres crafte      what treuthe can deuyse.  
I weue an I wynde      and do what treuthe hoteth. (B V 554-555.)

Then in B Pr. 118-120 the 'comune' institute 'plowmen':

To tilie and trauaile      as trewe lyf asketh.

Here the plowmen must be understood to mean those who provide bodily sustenance for all the people in the realm.

The best example is perhaps B VI 249-251:

Kynde witt wolde      bat eche a wyght wrouzte  
Or in dykynge or in deluyng      or trauaillynge in preyeres,  
Contemplatyf lyf or actyf lyf      cryst wolde men wrouzte.

2. If Conscience and Kynde Witte, who have taught Piers the way to Truth, mean the *claves regni caelorum* (R & H, p. 76), then we must concede that the King of the Prologue and P. IV, led by Conscience and Reason, belongs to the status prelatorum as well as Piers, which obviously is not the case.

3. The Hunger-episode is allegorized completely, but the results are confused. At one moment Hunger is taken to mean 'lack of spiritual food in forgetfulness of the Creator', at another it is the desire for spiritual

food. The literal sentence, which gives a clear meaning, is pushed to the background. This leads to some surprising statements:

Piers calls Hunger to control the wasters, but instead of ridding himself of them completely, Piers threatens to let them eat with hogs, as the prodigal son once did. Those who eat with hogs partake only of the food of the flesh and of the doctrines of the world. In other words, Piers threatens to excommunicate wasters. Under this threat, dissimulators go back to work. (p. 84.)

If we read on, however, we come to the lines:

... þat was bake for bayarde      was bote for many hungry,  
And many a beggere for benes      buxome was to swynke. (VI 196-7.)

The beggars, in fact, want to still their hunger with this poor food, which is still far better than no food at all!

The folk of the field make the error of attempting to sate hunger with an over-abundance of temporal food. They wish to 'poysoun' Hunger, to kill spiritual Hunger with temporal satisfactions, ... (p. 89.)

What happens is rather that the Folk attempt to still their hunger with poor food (we can certainly not call 'grene poret and pesen' over-abundance!). In both cases only the needs of the body are referred to. The addition of an extra layer of allegory is not only unnecessary, but spoils the meaning.

4. The authors are mistaken in supposing that, since the wasters are spiritual rather than temporal, the knight can do no more than warn them as their correction is not really the duty of knights (p. 85). The knight is fully qualified to deal with those whose influence on state or church is bad; Piers himself has stated this in B VI 28-29. No more has Piers 'succeeded where the secular arm ... failed': as soon as Hunger has gone Piers is powerless and the wasters return to their former life.

5. According to R. and H. Church and State as depicted in the Prologue are evil: people are 'preoccupied with worldly affairs, "wandryng" in confusion.' This they derive from Pr. 19:

Wörchyng and wandryng      as the worlde asketh

but they overlook the use of this phrase in B XIX 224-225, where Grace gives each man a special gift with which he can earn his livelihood 'as þe worlde asketh'. No exception is made for the King, who is said to have concern for temporalia only. The authors forget that the King is and must be specially concerned with temporal affairs. As a result they misinterpret the fable of the rats too: The rats' desire to bell the cat is called just, and 'the peace for which the mouse appeals is slothful peace, willingness to compromise with evil through fear of the world'. But in B Pr. 157 we read that the rats want to 'be lordes aloft and lyuen at owre ese'! They hardly follow the teaching of Piers' son:

... suffre þi souereynes      to hauen her wille  
Deme hem nouȝte for if þow doste      þow shalt it dere abugge  
(B VI 82-3).



The counsel of the mouse 'þat moche good kouthē' is far more in agreement with this teaching.

6. If in B IX 177-179:

And euery maner seculer    þat may nouȝt continue,  
Wysly go wedde    and war hym fro synne;  
For leccherye in likyng    is lymeȝerde of helle.

is to mean that 'everyone in the acive life should wed', i.e. enter upon the spiritual marriage of Man and God or of Man and Church, to avoid lechery (*amor saeculi*), what meaning must be attached to 'þat may nouȝt continue'? How can anyone who wants to achieve salvation keep aloof from this spiritual marriage? It is only on the literal level that a clear meaning can be found.

7. There is one case where the authors seem to have misunderstood their Latin commentary (p. 214-5): 'From the union of himself Will and intellect comes the contemplative memoria, and all three are as one directed toward charity'. This statement is accompanied by a quotation from Rabanus Maurus: 'Toto intellectu, tota voluntate, *et ex omni memoria Deum esse diligendum*'. (italics R. and H.!)

We have taken our examples mainly from the *Visio*, since it is there that the defects of this book become most evident. For the *Visio*, more than the other parts of Langland's poem, is concerned with the material things of this world. An attempt at over-allegorization will betray itself more easily here than in the more allegorical *Vitae*. Not that these latter parts are without such errors. For throughout the book the authors have failed to realize that the literal meaning of Langland's words is a sentence in its own right and that the allegorical meaning is not present all through the work but rather intermittently. Owing to this failure they have twisted the meaning of the poem as a whole and lost sight of the true perspective, even if on many pages of their book they have made valuable contributions to a better understanding of the poem.

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S. NEUIJEN.

*Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*. By H. S. BENNETT.  
Oxford History of English Literature. Edited by F. P. WILSON  
and BONAMY DOBRÉE. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1947.

A review of this book at this late date can hardly add anything of importance to the discussion that began about it five years ago. Indeed, the book is not intended to arouse controversy, but rather to collect, sift and set down the ascertained facts about a period of English literature which, except for the single figure of Chaucer, is remarkably poor in great literary achievements. The poverty of the age becomes particularly

impressive through the spirit of intense sobriety and matter-of-factness that the author seems to have taken over from his material and even Chaucer is treated with a careful coolness that eliminates all elements of romance and poetic exhilaration. The colour and liveliness of the traditional pageant have been deliberately suppressed in a picture which presents Chaucer's world as it essentially must have been, the fast developing world of the business-man that waged war and fought battles for profit and made of the wandering knight even in Chaucer's clarified portrait a condottiere and soldier of fortune. Against this not very attractive background Chaucer's work and his artistic aims stand out in better perspective than when taken as 'mere poetry', and the fundamental urge toward an immediate grasp of the living reality of his world that goes through even the early poems is at least partly explained. 'Life', to be sure, did not comprise the city in which he lived, though it comprehended a wide variety of human beings both as types and individuals; as Professor Bennett points out, Chaucer was not a popular poet, but spoke to a sophisticated audience brought up on French culture and not interested in either commonplace 'milieus' or social problems. The art, for them, was more important than the message, and Bennett offers some suggestive remarks on Chaucer's endeavours to adapt French verse-effects to the English language. In his position between Court and City Chaucer could hardly afford to play the moralist, however clear and firm his ethical attitude essentially was. His gift of irony thus had a double value for him, and all the more so since its lack in Gower must have warned him in time. The *Confessio Amantis*, surely known to him while in the making, might very well have influenced him in this way; the CT are an improvement on Gower as well as on the LGW! The Italian literature of the day was, of course, decisive for Chaucer's maturity; if he did not know the Decameron itself, he clearly used Petrarch's translation of Boccaccio's version of the Griseldis story, and the contact with the complete book is therefore highly probable. But Latin literature, especially Ovid, seems to have been of almost equal importance and might have been mentioned more fully in this connection. Chaucer's successors and imitators in England are properly condemned wholesale; it was not merely the language-shift that stopped the art of verse so abruptly. While prose, as Bennett shows by a series of illustrations, was growing in strength, suppleness and expressiveness among ordinary letter-writers as well as in the pulpit, though not Malory or Caxton but humanists like More were eventually to lead it up to its first important culmination. A very useful select bibliography closes the volume.

*Character and Motive in Shakespeare.* Some recent appraisals examined. By J. I. M. STEWART. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949. vii + 147 pp. Price 10/6 net.

In this book Mr. Stewart has two objects: the destruction of the theories held by the 'realists', Robert Bridges, Professor Schücking and Professor Stoll, and the advancement of modern psychology as an aid to the interpretation of cruces in the plays of Shakespeare. The critics whose work Mr. Stewart examines were exercised at certain apparent incongruities and inconsistencies of character and motive in the plays and endeavoured to explain Shakespeare either as a product of his time or else in the light of their own attitude to human nature. Mr. Stewart's view of life has been coloured, in this book at any rate, by his reading in the psychologists, Freud and the rest of his company: armed with the concepts of the collective unconscious, behaviour patterns and their like, he opposes his views to the realists with skill and subtlety. In doing so, he re-asserts the claims of common sense. It is his own penetrating precision of thought, rather than the *μύθοι* of the psychologists, which routs many muddled ideas and much pretentious writing.

In its direct criticism of the views of Robert Bridges and the two Professors, the book is masterly; its understanding of the nature of Shakespeare's bawdy and humanity, and its appreciation of the quiddity of such characters as Cleopatra and Macbeth are based upon what is so often drowned in the apprenticeship served by the High Priests of the Seminar, imagination.

It is through the processes of creative imagination that Mr. Stewart offers us an interpretation of incongruities which more closely approximates the true reality of poetic drama. His own assessments of the ultimate universality of Shakespeare's creations are ingenious, but of necessity tentative, for the conclusions of psychology have not yet been mated to literary criticism, and it is debatable how much advantage there is in the process. However, the Pisan tower of Shakespearean criticism has been strengthened by Mr. Stewart's pumping in hard, concrete-hard thought to the foundations. To add psychology, even in its plastic state, would be to add to the top structure. Yet this book reflects the contemporary climate of opinion, and is in tune with much of our speculation. Thus Mr. Stewart supplies us with a brilliant dismissal of Professor Schücking's attitude to Cleopatra:

Probably few people who venture an opinion on Cleopatra have much acquaintance with dissipated queens, with courtesans, or even with harlots. Few have watched a complex woman flee from a sea-battle or reconcile herself with a lover after such a flight or later draw him up, dying, into a beleaguered monument. The number of people who have witnessed a royal suicide must be extremely small. Thus in the judging of Cleopatra's verisimilitude the appeal is to observation through a series of inferences only. Or the appeal is to 'human nature'. Now by this touchstone we commonly suppose ourselves to mean a body of knowledge, built up from disinterested observation of uninhibited human beings. But this is inaccurate. The concept 'human nature' is shaped



primarily not by such observations (which are, in fact, very little available to us), but by the system of proprieties operative in the culture to which we belong.

He goes on to quote from the anthropologist Franz Boas and illustrates his meaning with illustrations drawn from the possible behaviour of the mountain dwelling Arapesh of New Guinea when confronted with the customs of the river dwelling Mundugumor, before returning to Cleopatra's behaviour. Mr. Stewart adumbrates his arguments, then elaborates upon them in the modern manner.

This book is successful in its object; but we hope for more, for a fuller study of Shakespeare, and perhaps a study of Shakespeare as a conscious rather than an unconscious artist.

University of Adelaide.

A. NORMAN JEFFARES.

*The Plays of Nathan Field.* Edited from the Original Quartos with Introductions and Notes by WILLIAM PEERY. The University of Texas Press, Austin, 1950. xiii + 346 pp. \$ 3.75.

A reliable text of Field has long been a desideratum. His first editor, Collier, besides mainly printing *Amends* from Q2, not Q1 as he claimed, introduced numerous unacknowledged departures from his copy-texts; Hazlitt, using Collier, improved upon this in his own way, and so did Verity, printing from Hazlitt. Now, at last, Dr Peery has produced an edition of Field's two unassisted plays the main object of which 'has been to establish the text of Field's comedies and to purify it of the numerous metrical, grammatical, and miscellaneous improvements to which it was subjected by nineteenth-century editors'. That such a text must be welcome need hardly be said. Dr Peery has not, however, addressed his work merely to the specialist: it is 'designed to fill a need lying somewhere between that of the bibliographical specialist ... and that of him who desires to meet few obstacles to the interest of a general reader.' As long as the concessions to the latter are scrupulously acknowledged in the apparatus this policy must, I think, be accepted. Only the support of a wider public can nowadays make an edition of this kind a commercial possibility, and even a specialist must not bite the hand that feeds him.

At the same time we have to remember that Dr Peery's edition will, in all likelihood, remain the standard edition of Field for some time to come. It is thus incumbent on the reviewer to point out whatever blemishes he can find that might confuse future specialist users. If, therefore, the present review seems in some respects severe, it must be borne in mind that its aim is to help perfect a good tool, not to break it to pieces.

The edition carries all the apparatus that one expects in a scholarly work of its kind. There is a general introduction giving ample information on

Field and his work, not forgetting a critical estimate of the latter, and also a review of the former editions and the texts they provide. Moreover, either play carries a separate introduction listing more technical information such as S.R. entry, stage history, sources, collations, etc. Dr Peery has devoted much attention to press corrections in the two first quartos, of which he gives analytical tables. There are 55 pages of explanatory notes, 18 of textual, a bibliography, and a good index.

All this ought to make the new edition amply sufficient for most scholarly purposes, excepting only those cases, now perhaps less rare than used to be thought, where an examination of physical copies is essential. The present review illustrates the latter type of case. Since I have been unable to see copies of the first quartos, my ability to judge of Dr Peery's work is necessarily limited. I have, however, made a full collation of his text of *Amends* with the copy of Q2 in the Royal Library at The Hague, the results of which will be detailed hereafter.

Perhaps the main shortcoming of the edition is Dr Peery's failure to inquire into the nature of his copy-texts, prompted possibly by too strict an adherence to Sir Walter Greg's Rules Two and Five in their original form. Thus since there is no choice in the matter of copy-texts (*Amends* Q2 seems to depend only on Q1 and some editorial acumen) Dr Peery refrains from analysing the nature of the manuscripts that must have underlain the two first quartos. Yet at first sight the two are by no means in the same class. Q1 *Weathercocke* gives us some reason to think that it may have been set up from an autograph copy of Field's that had not been used for the stage. It abounds in Latin stage-directions such as one does not usually associate with a theatre manuscript (e.g. *Legit Neu., Scud. aliquando respiciens.*), many of the English directions are hardly more theatrical, and it has both a dedication and an introduction by Field himself. Dr Peery does indeed give passing consideration to some of these points, deducing from the position of the repeated entrance for Pouts at II.i.231 that the copy may have been of playhouse origin, only to dismiss the whole matter again in a note: 'In the case of work by a non-literary actor-playwright like Field, perhaps the source of the copy is not very important. He is unlikely to have prepared a "literary" fair copy that might be expected to differ from a producible book as a beginning playwright without theatrical experience often does.' Surely this is begging the question. And surely this does not inform us whether the copy-text was foul papers or fair copy, and if the latter, whether it was in Field's hand or someone else's. For *Amends* these questions are again left open. We are told that 'there is some evidence that the 1618 quarto was printed from a promptbook', and I agree that the anticipatory direction at I.i.184, the probable actors' names at IV.ii and the seeming prompter's reminder for properties at V. ii. 170 point to that conclusion. The directions also look much more like prompter's work than in *Weathercocke*, but on the other hand *Amends* has a fair proportion of anomalous apostrophes (I'ts, ti's, etc.) which there is some reason to attribute to Field. There is thus a possibility

that both plays were printed from Field's autograph, perhaps worked over by the prompter in the case of *Amends*, and it is obviously an editor's views on these matters that must determine his policy in reprinting. Since Dr Peery is 'attempting to "approach as closely as the extant material allows" to the author's fair copy' we may perhaps deduce from the way he treats his copy that he does not consider it a reproduction of fair copy, but that is hardly the way we like to be informed of these matters. And even so it is occasionally difficult to discover why Dr Peery does or does not emend. Apart from some inconsistencies such as expanding *La:* to *Lady* but not always expanding *Lo:*, there are a number of instances where Dr Peery's reading can only be defended on the grounds that the quarto fully represents Field's intentions, i.e. rests on his fair copy, and is thus inviolate. What is the reader to make of the following line:

*Bould.* Why you confest to mee as you'r Gentlewoman, [A IV. i. 12]

where Q1 reads *you'r*, Q2 *you'r a*, CHV *your*. There is no explanatory note, and though Dr Peery may agree that Collier gives the right sense and Q2 does not, one would like to be told so. Even if *you'r* is Field's spelling — and I think it is — it is questionable whether it should be followed in an edition where the genitive in *Actus primi Scæna prima* is replaced by a nominative plus comma.

At A IV. i. 92 there is at least a case against retaining *Heauen* in view of the reference to it as *he* two lines below. It could be argued that Field wrote *God*, which was altered in the theatre or in the printing house to eliminate profanity. This point Dr Peery may have merely overlooked since he does not discuss it, but he should certainly have given more information than he does at A II. i. 40f., where he follows Q1 in reading *are you so so fine with a poxe*. He has indeed a textual note: so so] so CHV. (Q2, in fact, has the same reading as CHV) but in his edition as well as in Q2 the line is turned after the first so. Since he does not follow the lineation of Q1 in the prose we have no means of knowing whether perhaps Q1 turns the line at the same point, but if it does, the propriety of retaining its reading is open to question. In the same scene I am inclined to query *fetch* at l. 70, where Dr Peery does not mention Q2's *fetcht*, as well as *thou are* at l. 9, where Q2's *thou art* is again ignored. I have no quarrel with his policy of omitting minor variants of Q2 from his textual notes, but on points like these one has a right to be informed. Similar doubts arise at III. iii. 116 where *With all by heart* must be a misprint for *With all my heart* (Q2, not mentioned), at II iii. 71 where *bare* may well be the reading of Q1 but Q2's *beare* is ignored, at III. iv. 43 where we find Q2 omit the definite article before *Barmuthoes*, at III. iv. 100 where we should like Q2's *hast thou* to be mentioned as an assurance that Q1 does indeed read *has thou*, and at IV. ii. 48 where *obsur'd* looks sufficiently suspicious to question it when we find no mention of Q2's *absur'd*. At V. i. 75, on the other hand, Dr Peery regards his copy-text lightly enough to remove



the Husband's exit to l. 78, though he has already reached his hideout at l. 75. The absence of a re-entrance direction — which Dr Peery supplies — argues that the Husband hides on the stage, and it would thus be more proper to omit the exit altogether. At l. 75 it could in any case hardly be considered misplaced, and if Q1 reproduces prompt copy we should not lightly shift it.

The commentary is full, and on the whole adequate. On some points further information might have been supplied, though the requirements of different users will always vary. At *W V. ii. 130* it might perhaps have been explained that *So ha we'e* means *So have with ye*, and at *A III. ii. 92* perhaps not everyone will remember *II. i. 111-32*. At *A IV. i. 120-22* it might perhaps be suggested that the whole passage becomes regular if we read a colon after *liue* and drop the first *To doe you seruice*. I fail to understand the note to *III. iv. 43* without further reference, unless *Bold* is a misprint for *Well-tried*, and the note to *IV. i. 168f.* does not seem to make matters much clearer. Q2's guess *your* for *my* might at least have been mentioned. On the other hand I do not think that the information on Pocahontas can throw light on the reference to Gravesend at *W III. iv. 36*.

Besides those already mentioned the following corrections should be made in the Textual notes to *Amends*: *I. i. 349*: unto Q2, CHV; *I. i. 487*: as the] are as Q2; *II. i. 32*: I cannot trace the reference to *W*; *II. i. 40*: so Q2, CHV; *III. iii. 83*: makes me make a] make me a Q2: makes me a CHV; *IV. ii. 108*: It is Q2, CHV; *IV. iv. 89*: Sir: Q2, CHV.

The printing of the book is good, and pleasing to the eye, except where an attempt has been made to reproduce a non-lining 1 among lining numerals: 1618 in lining numerals is 1618, and if the distinction is valuable a non-lining fount must be found to match.

In spite of what has been said above, Dr Peery is to be congratulated upon his work. The ordinary user should find few obstacles in his way, and the present reviewer has himself derived much benefit from it in a more specialized way. If Dr Peery could see his way to publish the necessary corrections in some form that would make them generally accessible it would make our gratitude all the deeper. His book is worth it.

Scheveningen.

JOH. GERRITSEN.

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*Aldous Huxley: Entwicklung seiner Metaphysik.* Von SUZANNE HEINTZ-FRIEDRICH. Bern: A. Francke A.G. Verlag. 1949. 127 pp. S.Fr. 13.20.

There has as yet been no long study of Aldous Huxley's work worthy of its subject; so Dr. Heintz-Friedrich's book was certainly called for. She gives a clear and convincing analysis of his ideas at different periods of his career and shows how his development after 1936 was due rather to a

reevaluation of notions already present than to a sudden conversion.

Poet, novelist, essayist, dramatist, Mr. Huxley began by elevating his own versatility into a philosophy of life. In his first phase he rejoiced to be 'a mere spectator of the world, not an actor in it', and indulged his irony at the expense of the 'silliness' of man and nature, which was due to his inability to believe that earthly life had any object other than 'its own prolongation and reproduction'. This as well as his own intellectual curiosity necessitated a comic view of life and art. To tell the whole truth was to overflow the limits of tragedy, which ceased to exist for the modern scientific observer with his multiplicity of vision. Huxley's relativism helps to explain the method of characterisation which culminated in *Point Counter Point*. The persons in the novels are illustrations of many points of view, each with its own truth and the limitations due to its biological and social setting.

Miss Heintz-Friedrich shows Huxley's sense of divisions in modern man — between passion and spirit, instinct and intellect, the individual and society. Men have become inhumanly specialized, and are therefore perverted from their natural 'variousness'. Huxley owed to his friend D. H. Lawrence an appreciation of the needs of blood and flesh, the call of an instinctive life more unifying than the fluctuating self-consciousness (which the author shares with so many of his characters). Mark Rampion is therefore happier and more admirable than Philip Quarles. Though Huxley attacked the Christian idea that the worship of any aspect of life but the spiritual was a sin, he attacked even more vehemently current attempts to narrow human nature by conditioning it sociologically and biologically to the service of a mechanistic civilisation; as he showed in *Brave New World*. Thus for many years he strove to qualify his basic pessimism ('the world is finally deplorable') by a hedonism which rebels against the uncreative boredom of conformity and seeks an outlet for 'all the numerous people who live inside my skin and take their turn at being the masters of my fate.'

In the middle thirties Huxley entered another phase, a search for unity in experience, which involved a surrender of detachment. *Eyeless in Gaza* is important autobiographically, for Anthony, like his creator, having been a spectator of human folly, realises that 'if the behaviour could be modified', then thought and knowledge would cease to be ends and become means of human betterment. Variety and uniqueness are now seen to exist above 'a substratum of physical identity'; 'the physical world you daily experience is a private Universe quarried out of a total reality which the physicists infer to be far greater than it.'

An immediate result of this was a recognition that man therefore must have duties 'towards himself, and others, and the nature of things'. To live by this would be freedom. Man could be 'one with the Infinite Being of the Universe'; mystical experience was not only valid but necessary. With this idea in mind Mr. Huxley examined the doctrines of eastern and western seers (in *The Perennial Philosophy*) and found the mystical idea

accompanied by a belief that personality and time are 'aspects of evil', being forms of 'that which makes for separateness'. Henceforth for Huxley 'the ideal man is the non-attached man', whose goal is a 'complete renunciation of consciousness and a realisation of a state of no-mind'; a complete reversal of his early views.

The author has traced these ideas very competently in both essays and novels. She might perhaps have made more of contemporary scientific thought in discussing this remarkable *volte-face*. There is still need for a thorough examination of the characters in Huxley's novels and short stories in relation to his pilgrimage from the Many to the One. But this is a valuable book.

London.

G. BULLOUGH.

*Hemingway: The Writer as Artist.* By CARLOS BAKER.  
Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952. 322 pp.  
\$4.50.

Although it is too early to attempt a full-scale biography of Ernest Hemingway, enough is now known of his beliefs and his artistry, says Carlos Baker, Professor of English at Princeton University, to justify a provisional sketch of the man as artist. Such a sketch his book seeks to provide. Ordering his material chronologically to show Hemingway's intellectual and artistic development, the author begins with the writer's apprentice years, when he was evolving an aesthetic theory and learning his craft, and then devotes a chapter to each of the major works from *The Sun Also Rises* to *Across the River and Into the Trees*. These chapters, the heart of the book, follow a pattern; each discusses fully the work in question, beginning with its conception and ending with a critical judgment. Presented first is the raw material from which the book is shaped: bull fighting, hunting game in Africa, the Spanish Civil War. Prefaces, letters, and other external statements reveal Hemingway's attitude toward his material, and his hopes and intentions in working it. With these facts in mind, but often going beyond them, the author continues with a close analysis of the book itself. Finally he answers the questions How well did the writer solve the technical problems he set himself? How is the book related to the writer's other work and what did it contribute to his artistic development? and How good a book is it?

Such a method allows the author to say very little about Hemingway the man — about 'his strong sense of justice . . . , his prowess as hunter or fisherman . . . , his private battles or his public wars.' These matters would make a good story, says the author, perhaps 'a heroic one,' but it is a story he is not concerned with at the moment. He is interested, as his subtitle indicates, in 'the Writer as Artist,' and he maintains this limited focus with commendable rigor. Valid generally in literary study, this is



a particularly suitable approach to Ernest Hemingway, who himself has always stoutly maintained that the writer's supreme duty is to be an artist. Indeed, to reveal Hemingway's unswerving devotion to art is a large part of the author's purpose. Many critics in the '30's chided Hemingway for standing aloof from the social issues of the day; then in 1937, when in an address to the Second American Writers' Congress he denounced the fascists in Spain, they felt he had seen the light and would henceforth be a writer with political awareness. They were wrong, says Professor Baker, for he had not changed. The critics erred in identifying the man with the artist. As early as 1923 he had recorded his opposition to Mussolini, and in 1936 he raised \$40,000 on personal notes to help equip the Spanish Loyalists; there was no question of the man's abhorrence of the fascist tyranny. Art was a different matter. Not even after his Spanish experience did he feel impelled to devote his fiction to a political cause. Always the goal was art. Professor Baker establishes this fact firmly, not so much, one assumes, in order to jump on the bandwagon of literary fashion, as to set the record straight and to prepare for and help justify his aesthetic analysis.

To generalize about this analysis — which is detailed and often quite acute — one may say that it reveals Hemingway's fiction to be considerably subtler and more complex than it is frequently taken to be. If Hemingway were truly the 'archpriest of naturalists,' as some have termed him, his many imitators could more closely approach the achievement of their model. What they miss — Hemingway's 'fourth and fifth dimension' — is precisely the thing that gives distinction to his prose and richness to his fiction. Mostly it is a matter of symbols, says Professor Baker, who in his analyses discovers symbolic structures that give form to the novels and reinforce their themes. In *A Farewell to Arms*, for instance, the basic life-death opposition that runs through the novel is suggested not only by the action but also by details of setting. The mountain — high, remote, cold, and dry — suggests home and security. It is to the mountain that Frederick and Catherine retire to enjoy their short life together. They escape from the plain, where the war goes on in rain and mud, but have to return to it in the end when Catherine leaves the mountain retreat to enter the hospital. Related to the mountain-plain opposition are two significant minor characters — Rinaldi the doctor, and the priest. Rinaldi is on the plain, whereas the priest is associated with his mountain home of Abruzzi. These two men contend for the allegiance of Henry; and if his early love is that of Rinaldi and the plain, it rises, as the story progresses, not to the particular variety of heavenly love that the priest offers (which for Henry is impossible), but to something, as the mountain symbol suggests, very close to it. Weather and terrain, then, accurately portrayed at the naturalistic level, serve also as symbols that support the theme. Professor Baker reveals the symbolic structures of the other novels as well, and the reader will be able to judge the extent to which the author's penetrating study of *Across the River and Into the Trees* reverses the prevailing unfavorable opinion of that book.

*Hemingway: The Writer as Artist* is an excellent study. Sanelly avoiding the kind of thin-spun criticism designed merely to exhibit the ingenuity of the critic, the author has discussed this writer in a way that should enable us to read him with fuller understanding. Professor Baker invites us to take Hemingway seriously, and his study proves he is right in so doing.

Groningen.

LEON T. DICKINSON.

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*A Dictionary of New Words in English.* By PAUL C. BERG.  
London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1953. 176 pp. Price  
12s. 6d.

Wartime and post-war English provide a fertile field for linguistic studies. The supplements to the standard dictionaries record words now fully accepted even by conservative standards in numbers which testify to the rich and various growth of the language during the war and its aftermath of social change. Service slang has received its measure of attention from Mr. Partridge and others, but there remains a vast body of words, some of them ephemeral, but all of them generally accepted at some time, which have nowhere received the scholarly attention they deserve. A glossary of them remains a desideratum in the field of English studies.

It was therefore with interest that we awaited the *Dictionary of New Words in English*. Dr. Berg throws his net wide and, to borrow the words of his preface, his collection has come to include 'phrases not strictly idiomatic, clichés, new meanings added to old words, new words proper, initial-words, new uses and abuses of ancient and honourable terms, and finally, everything that to the best of my knowledge has come into the language since the early thirties'. The total of some 2,000 entries may therefore well seem slight, and it would indeed be relatively easy for any collector of neologisms to point out chance omissions: such a collection, especially when it is from the hand of a single author, is bound to have its blind spots. Even so, it is difficult to account for some omissions — e.g. *airborne*, *airlift* (a.), *leftist*, *pre-shrink*, which the writer uses himself in defining *skiborne*, *G. C. A.*, *rightist* and *Sanforize* respectively.

We must however be careful not to judge a book for what it does not contain. There are excellences as well as blind spots. The work includes lucid definitions of many of the better-known but often half-understood technical terms associated with radar, medical science etc.; 'almost tautological' combinations such as *shell eggs* and *liquid milk* form an interesting, though by no means a new linguistic phenomenon which is well represented; so also is the language of the film world; both the English and the Continental student will welcome the many exhilarating American words and phrases.

Indeed, we might say that Americanisms have the lion's share. Readers who have access to Webster's New International Dictionary may find

it instructive to compare the work under review with the list of new words in the 1947 edition of that work. A comparison of the words under the letter E shows that approximately 50 per cent. of Dr. Berg's entries have corresponding entries in Webster. Doubtless it will be convenient to have these words in a format smaller than the somewhat bulky Webster; but the comparison of two parallel entries may adequately show the somewhat disastrous effect of Dr. Berg's abbreviated treatment:

Webster: *color* ... attendant features evoking interest or stimulating the imagination, often specif., such features described by a radio announcer in connection with a political or sporting event; as, the program lacks *color*; fifteen minutes of *color* before the kickoff. *Colloq.*

Berg : *colour* ['kʌlə], *n.* In a programme: subsidiary features added to evoke, or enhance interest; e.g. fifteen minutes of *colour* before the kick-off.

Does *programme* here mean exclusively radio *programme*? The context of the quotation is by no means clear. Are we to understand this to be an Americanism? Even if not, the writer has evidently found no English example, and the re-spelling of *color* is hardly helpful; and if so, we might have expected the note *U.S.*; or even a reference to Webster.

In his interesting and pleasantly written preface the author expresses the hope that his work may serve as a guide to the practical man, or, in default of that, will be of use to the student of language. This curiously disarming statement perhaps explains the rich variety of his material, of which we have already spoken, but we may wonder whether his work has not suffered from a divided purpose in trying to be all things to all men. The practical man might welcome longer and less ambiguous explanations: the student of language would certainly welcome more regular quotations from which he might himself judge of verbal nuances. But surely, whether for scholar or practical man, accuracy is — to borrow a word from the glossary — a *must*. Yet we find some score of misprints and other inaccuracies in the phonetic renderings (e.g. ['kovə] for ['kʌvə], [skowt] for [skwot], [strə'tidzhik] for [strə'ti:dzhik]) and some dozen in the text. We find *pipe down* marked as a transitive verb; *under-the-counter* is included among post-war words in the preface, and has a question-begging definition; *prang* (*v.*) lacks perhaps its commonest meaning of *crash*; *Basenji*, whatever it may be, is not Dutch; we find the phrase *be in the clear* illustrated by the quotation 'he has \$ 3500 in the clear'; and *Stuka* (*n.*) by 'German Stuka dive-bombers made an attack...'; *wings* (the aviation badge) and *killer* (a murderer) are both marked *U.S.*, yet surely both have a wide currency in England; the etymology of *anglistics* is given as *anglo* + *linguistics* — what of the German *Anglistik*? Is a *dim view* 'A highly pessimistic opinion'? or *protective custody* merely a 'Euphemism for detention'? These few examples may serve to illustrate the variety of inaccuracies; their number is such as to detract seriously from the value of the material.

The author also expresses the hope that his book, by throwing some



light on the inner history of the period, will provide data about the spiritual climate of the nation, its hopes, complexes and inhibitions. An appeal to posterity, as it were, in default of the student and the practical man. It may have such an appeal. Though whether the definition of *Iron Curtain* as 'The closely guarded frontier between the NATO powers and the people's democracies' is representative of the nation's ideals is at least open to question. Yet even Dr. Johnson is renowned for his definition of *oats*.

Groningen.

N. E. OSSELTON.

## Points of Modern English Syntax

### XXV

67. The soup was bad, and Miss Vereker left most of hers and contrived to be looking down at it very curiously every time Mrs. Dersingham glanced across the table at her. J. B. Priestley, *Angel Pavement*, as quoted in *The Priestley Companion*, p. 32 (Penguin).

a. What shade of meaning is suggested by *to be looking down* that would not be conveyed by *to look down*?

b. Where does the sub-clause begin?

68. We were at Glenaivil six of us — for the duck-shooting when Leithen told us this story ... You know how one story begets another, and soon the whole place hummed with old recollections, for five of us had been a good deal about the world. John Buchan, *The Power-House*, Preface.

Non-British readers of this journal, when translating *six of us* and *five of us* into their native language, may find that they use two different constructions. Thus Dutch would have *met ons zessen*, but on the other hand *vijf van ons*, and French *nous étions six* as against *cinq de nous*, while German would render the groups by *wir waren (unser) sechs* and *fünf von uns*, Spanish by *éramos seis* and *cinco de nosotros*. This shows that the English groups represent two distinct ideas in spite of their identical construction. Define these different senses.

69. She always says she ought to have been born to ten thousand a year — but who of us could not say that? Dorothy Sayers and Robert Eustace, *The Documents in the Case*, I, p. 13 (Penguin).

Which of us knows his fate? Thackeray, *Pendennis*, I, ch. III, p. 44.

'Well, hope you'll have a good journey. See you back on Saturday. What train do you think you'll catch?' Lathom answered that he wasn't quite sure and added: 'Don't wait up for me if I'm late.' D. Sayers and R. Eustace, *The Documents in the Case*, ch. 49, p. 209 (Penguin).

'Well, which train shall we go by to-morrow? There is one at nine, and another at half past twelve, or twelve thirty-five, I forget which.' Sweet, *Primer of Spoken English*, p. 80 f.

Explain the difference between *who of us* and *which of us; what train* and *which train*.

70. The veins in his forehead stood out and his face grew dark and threatening. He was a man insane. W. Somerset Maugham, *Of Human Bondage*, p. 90 (Heinemann).

Account for the post-position of *insane*.

Answers may be sent to Mr. P. A. Erades, 21 Frans Halsstraat, Haarlem (Holland).

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# The Rise of English Verse Satire in the Eighteenth Century

## I

Thy long Lamented Silence, Satyr, break;  
Open thy Ancient Oracle, and Speak.....  
Speak to resisting Ages in a strain,  
Shall bring the World to *Miracles* again.  
When Reasons wondrous Empire shall begin,  
Tyrants without shall fall like those within;  
Nations shall listen to thy Mighty Word,  
When Satyr has their wandering Sence restor'd.

Defoe, *Jure Divino* (1706).

The eighteenth century, one might assert without being guilty of startling paradox, began in 1660 and ended about 1740. This period is after all in many significant ways more of a unity than the century from 1700; it is meant in whole or in part (since usage varies) when we speak of the 'Augustan Age'; it is the 'Age of Reason', whether it be the arrogant rationalism of Thomas Hobbes, or the modest reasonableness of John Locke to which we refer; it is the 'Enlightenment'; it is the 'Age of Satire'.

Now satire was in practice the most important poetic form with the Augustans, representing their greatest poetic achievement; the homage which they paid to the epic only serves to emphasise this since it was not in the heroic but the mock-heroic that they were primarily successful. Satire was, or became, their typical reaction to experience and occupied the attention of poets more than any other single *genre*<sup>1</sup>. The reasons for this eminence are of considerable interest.

After the Restoration the increase in (especially political) satire was the result of the canalisation of hostile impulses into less dangerous channels than those they had formerly taken:

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<sup>1</sup> A detailed examination of the poets listed in the *Cambridge Bibliography* inevitably yields only rough figures; one would suggest however that between 1660 and 1680 perhaps 30 % of the poets writing produced sufficient invective or burlesque to be classed as 'Satirists'; between 1680 and 1700 the same. The first decade of the eighteenth century has few satirists but there is a considerable increase in the second, giving a percentage of about 21 for the twenty years. The period 1720-40 however has a percentage of 35, after which there is again a decline. R. P. Bond's 'Register of Burlesque Poems' in his *English Burlesque Poetry 1700-1750* in part confirms these trends; he records 26 such poems 1700-9; 37, 1710-19; 48, 1720-29; 65, 1730-39; and only 35, 1740-49.



Behold a Civil War is just at hand,  
 I'th' very Bowels of our Native Land;  
 The strong Contention's grown to such a height,  
 The Pen's already drawn, and has begun the Fight.<sup>2</sup>

wrote a poetaster of 1700. His words had more than immediate application (to the Collier stage controversy); they summed up the practice of people who had a horror of civil war, who were in any case too equally divided for either side to be able to undertake it with any certainty of success; some form of toleration was forced upon them, and the pen continued the struggle. Poetry was pressed into service in its most practicable form. But if it were to be effective, to influence large numbers of people, to act as a stimulus to action, it must be intelligible. The Elizabethans had held that satire should be an obscure form; in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) George Puttenham had described some common satirical figures — the drye mock, the bitter taunt, the merry skoffe or civill jest, the fleering frumpe, the broad floute and the privy nippe — all of which, he said, 'be souldiers to the figure *allegoria* and fight under the banner of dissimulation'.<sup>3</sup> Those who attempted satire in the manner of Juvenal and Persius were led to believe, in part by the unfamiliarity of the references they found in those writers, that classical satire had been deliberately obscure. Also, as Mr. Arnold Stein has pointed out, difficulty in satire such as Donne's was to encourage the fit, and discourage the unfit reader.<sup>4</sup> Now however, one could not afford the luxury of an unfit reader; too much might depend upon it. The demand for clarity — that poetry should be immediately comprehensible — of which we hear so much in this period, is no doubt influenced in some measure by the political necessity for its being so. This and similar qualities were in any case desirable in satire where precision and sharpness were all the advantage; lost is the jest which needs explanation. Clarity was also favoured by the scientific temper of the seventeenth century.

The New Science was in fact responsible for much of satire's importance in the Augustan Age. It encouraged men to regard only the empirical as 'true'. Its effects upon poetic theory can be seen in, for example, 'The Answer of Mr Hobbes to Sir Will. D'Avenant's Preface Before Gondibert'<sup>5</sup> where he distinguished 'judgment' as begetting the 'strength and structure' and 'fancy' as begetting the 'ornaments' of a poem. Judgment busied herself, he said, with a 'grave and rigid examination of all the parts of Nature' — which was precisely the function of science; fancy however appeared to be merely decorative. Very many years later, Byron had to defend Pope against the romantics:

<sup>2</sup> Defoe, 'The Pacificator', in a *True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman* (London, 1705), p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 157-159.

<sup>4</sup> 'Donne and the Satiric Spirit,' in *English Literary History*, xi. (December, 1944).

<sup>5</sup> In *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1908), ii, 59.

..... because he is always intelligible, it is taken for granted that he is the 'Poet of Reason,' as if this was a reason for his being no poet.<sup>6</sup>

But at the time of which we are speaking circumstances were reversed; then, we find people such as Thomas Rymer making an assault (though indeed the battle was all but won) upon a seventeenth century 'romanticism' deriving ultimately from the *Ion*:

Say others, *Poetry and Reason*, how come these to be Cater-cousins? Poetry is the *Child of Fancy*, and is never to be school'd and disciplin'd by Reason; Poetry, say they, is *blind* inspiration, is pure *enthusiasm*, is *rapture* and *rage* all over.

But *Fancy*, I think, in Poetry, is like *Faith* in Religion: it makes far discoveries, and soars above reason, but never clashes or runs against it. *Fancy* leaps and frisks, and away she's gone, whilst *Reason* rattles the chains and follows after. *Reason* must consent and ratify what-ever by *fancy* is attempted in its absence, or else 'tis all *null* and void in law.<sup>7</sup>

The parallel with religion is significant; in both cases intuition was at a discount. *Fancy* and reason were indeed supposed to be complementary, but such was this conception of the nature of truth that fancy was felt to be not really essential. There arose a poetry of judgment, and one of fancy, the former possessing seriousness and dignity, the latter by an apparent antithesis to it, being trivial and though no doubt pleasing yet certainly false. Satire was of truth.

We must however be careful with our terms. Formal satire, written on the classical model, was indeed concerned with truth; so was a mock-heroic such as the *Dunciad*. But some forms of burlesque were suspect. 'The common opinion, that this was the Augustan Age in England', wrote Joseph Warton of the reign of Charles II, 'is excessively false. What was called SHEER WIT, was alone studied and applauded.' Now 'wit' for Warton here had the connotation of 'fancy'. 'The king', he added, as though to clinch the argument beyond possible dispute, 'was perpetually quoting Hudibras.'<sup>8</sup> Dryden said that the choice of Butler's numbers had debased the dignity of his style. 'And besides', he continued:

the double rhyme (a necessary companion of burlesque writing) is not so proper for manly satire; for it turns earnest too much to jest, and gives us a boyish kind of pleasure.<sup>9</sup>

In the *Spectator* (No. 63) Addison, associating 'Wit' with 'Truth', in the region of which he placed satire, found the 'double rhyme' in the region of 'False Wit'. But unscrupulous Ned Ward, and the many others who also used the hudibrastic would have rejected indignantly the suggestion that it was incompatible with high seriousness.

<sup>6</sup> From 'Observations upon an Article in Blackwood's Magazine,' in *The Poets and their Critics*, ed. H. S. Davies (1943), p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> 'The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd', in Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, 3rd. ed. (London, 1772), i, 161.

<sup>9</sup> 'A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire', in the *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford, 1926), ii, p. 105.

The relationship of satire with truth was many-sided; primarily satire must concern itself with those subjects about which truth was ascertainable. Now John Locke emphasised that the mind of man was limited; it could create nothing, but could only combine ideas derived from sensation; it had no innate ideas. Man must be content 'to sit down in a quiet ignorance of those things which, upon examination, are found to be beyond the reach of (his) capacities'<sup>10</sup>. There were however things which he could study with profit, and thus Pope could write:

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,  
The proper study of Mankind is Man.<sup>11</sup>

Man was, after all, a creature of considerable interest. In the 'great chain of being' which ascended from the lowest forms of life to the Deity he might indeed hold a comparatively low place, but he was unique in uniting bodily and spiritual essences. As Young put it, he was 'A worm! a god!'<sup>12</sup>; the Renaissance paradox was still very much alive. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study* John Locke laid it down that the study of his fellows was an essential part of the education of a gentleman:

To fit a gentleman for the conduct of himself, whether as a private man, or as interested in the government of his country, nothing can be more necessary than the knowledge of men; which, though it be to be had chiefly from experience, and, next to that, from a judicious reading of history; yet there are books that of purpose treat of human nature, which help to give an insight into it.<sup>13</sup>

Amongst such books he lists:

Satyrical writings also, such as Juvenal and Persius, and above all Horace; though they paint the deformities of men, yet they thereby teach us to know them.<sup>14</sup>

The satiric character portrait in the hands of a Dryden or a Pope was, after all, a masterpiece of psychological analysis. The Augustans were following Hobbes' dictum that 'the subject of a Poem is the manners of men'<sup>15</sup>.

Hobbes had divided poetry into three main classes — the heroic (epic and tragic), the scommatic (satiric and comic) and the pastoral<sup>16</sup>. The heroic was still held in high esteem though here and there one detects a sneer at it in favour of the form which was actually dominant:

Heroes and gods make other poems fine;  
Plain Satire calls for sense in every line.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. R. Wilburn (London, 1947), i, i, vi.

<sup>11</sup> *Essay on Man*, ii, 1-2. Quotation from Pope throughout this paper is from the Twickenham editions.

<sup>12</sup> *The Complaint*, ed. Gilfillan (Edinburgh, 1853), i, 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Works* (London, 1801), iii, 275.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Spingarn, *op. cit.*, p. 56. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>17</sup> Young, 'Love of Fame', Satire ii, in *The Works of the English Poets*, ed. A. Chalmers (London, 1810), xiii, 384.



But the pastoral was now considered 'fanciful' poetry *par excellence*. When Pope admitted to having wandered in fancy's maze before he stooped to truth and moralised his song, it was as much as anything his pastorals that he had in mind. True, the pastoral concerned itself with the 'manners of men', but its characters were shepherds and shepherdesses living in a remote golden age; their hearts were uncorrupted, and they were therefore happy and virtuous. But at a time when 'sentimentism'<sup>18</sup> had not greatly advanced, the hard realism of the Augustans who saw society beset by vice and folly, could not admit much merit to this picture. The form in which it was most acceptable was as used satirically — as the 'ancient times' which presented such a contrast to contemporary society.

It is often remarked that a stable society with a certain general agreement as to values is most favourable to the production of satire. One would concur. In the Augustan Age these values were the conventional religious ones, modified in some particulars by the neo-classical canons. To these the satirist appealed; they were another aspect of satire's alliance with truth, and when Pope wrote,

Satire or Sense alas! can Sporus feel?<sup>19</sup>

he implied the virtual identity of the two. And yet behind the apparent unanimity of standards implied by the constant cry to reason, there is an amazing diversity. It is instructive to read the following extract from a poem by Ward, where he is describing a Latitudinarian priest, a 'moderate shepherd':

He's to no party either friend or foe,  
But does to each, the like indifference show,  
Wishing to neither, as he tells you, harm,  
But cries, They're both to blame, and both too warm.  
Pleads that all parties reconciled may be,  
And cants for universal charity.  
Condemns the High Church that they will not stoop,  
Blames the Dissenters that they don't come up.<sup>20</sup>

Were it not for the single word 'cant' one might be excused for reading the passage as compliment, but Ward was addressing an audience to whom moderation was no virtue, the same audience that was tricked by Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. Yet throughout Ward's work there is the confident assumption that reason is at his back — exactly the same assumption that we find in the work of his enemies.

At the root of this was the belief, increasingly encouraged by Deism,

<sup>18</sup> For the use of this term instead of the customary 'Sentimentalism', see 'The Decline of English Verse Satire in the Middle Years of the Eighteenth Century', an article by the present writer published in the *Review of English Studies*, July 1952.

<sup>19</sup> 'Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot', 307.

<sup>20</sup> 'A Protestant Scourge for a Popish Jacket', in *A Collection of the Writings of Mr. Edward Ward* (London, 1706), iii.

that truth was within the grasp of all, would they but use their reason to discover it. Shaftesbury advanced a step further, and suggested that ridicule was a legitimate test of truth:

Truth, 'tis supposed, may bear all lights; and one of these principal lights and natural mediums by which things are to be viewed in order to a thorough recognition is ridicule itself.<sup>21</sup>

The theory was taken up with enthusiasm, though how far Shaftesbury would have subscribed to the applications of it made by his supporters is a matter for debate. Obviously it was a great justification for satire and was used as such. There is a hint of this in, for example, Swift's lines, where ridicule,

Drives out Brangling and Contention,  
Brings in Reason and Invention.<sup>22</sup>

The Church was up in arms against the heresy; Johnson came down heavily upon it in his 'Life of Akenside'; but the neatest and most effective criticism had been made some years before by John Brown:

Upon the whole, this new design of *discovering truth* by the vague and *unsteady light of ridicule*, puts one in mind of the honest *Irishman*, who apply'd his candle to the *sun-dial* in order to see how the night went.<sup>23</sup>

But if the author of an 'Essay on Satire' denied the validity of the theory, it was a necessary if unconsciously held article of faith in those for whom he attempted to legislate.

In an age of critical and analytical habits of mind satire was a natural form of expression; an age which exalted the head above the heart preferred wit to sentiment. This is not to suggest however that the satirist ever ignored the claims of the passions; indeed, as we shall see, they presented him with a nice moral problem.

## II

Satire, as practised by the courtly set after the Restoration tended to suffer from a lack of seriousness; one might take one's revenge justly for a long exile or a harsh regime under the Parliamentarians, but as Warton remarked, 'Under the notion of laughing at the absurd austerities of the Puritans, it became the mode to run into the contrary extreme, and ridicule real religion and unaffected virtue'<sup>24</sup>. The eighteenth century however brought with it a new moral earnestness which was partly the result of increasing Dissenting influence in public life, and numerous Societies for

<sup>21</sup> *Essay on the Characteristics of Wit and Humor* (London, 1709), Pt. 1, Sect. 1.

<sup>22</sup> 'Epistle to a Lady', in *Poems*, ed. H. Williams (Oxford, 1937), ii, 637.

<sup>23</sup> Footnote to the 'Essay on Satire' in Dodsley's *Collection* (London, 1770), iii, 327.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

the Reformation of Manners were formed — in 1699 there were 39 such societies in London alone<sup>25</sup>. The Non-conformist Defoe for example joined in most of the campaigns of the time, and railed against the sins of 'Ostia' like, as he would have considered, a Hebrew prophet.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless despite the apparent Presbyterianism of the man, he was well on the way to Deism. And it was Deism, one would like to suggest, that was a large factor in determining the nature and extent of satire in the eighteenth century.

One does not here intend to imply that the various Deistical controversies provided an occasion for satire, though this is in fact true — the writer of *War with Priestcraft: or the Free-thinker's Iliad. A Burlesque Poem*, for instance, provides us with one of several verse replies to Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation*. Rather, one would suggest that the tenets of Deism were in certain ways favourable to it, and in this connection Professor Basil Willey has made an important point:

In my view (he writes) it was precisely the prevalence of the belief in 'Nature', and especially in 'Nature and Reason', which makes this period the golden age of satire. If all in Nature pleases, then man will at times appear vile by contrast; if you worship 'Nature and Reason' you will be the more afflicted by human unreason.<sup>27</sup>

And yet, from another angle, it was strange that man should appear vile at all. Deism regarded the good life (not, after all, the *over-good* life) as well within the capacity of all men, just as truth was attainable, by the exercise of reason, and thus a great stress came to be laid on personal morality; man was a creature of dignity, who did not need to be threatened into virtue; he was answerable for his own conduct, and did not require a supernatural Redemption from the results of it. With scorn Henry Jones asked whether the age had grown so barbarous as to need the menaces of the pulpit rather than the reason of satire to keep it from vice:

Shall distant fears reform flagitious Times?  
Nor present Shame give Sanction to my Rhymes?  
How much would Breeding and Politeness fail,  
Should Wit be frightened at a formal Tale!  
Clear Truths, in such a Garb, would give offence:  
What! think to scar(e) with Bugbears Men of Sense<sup>28</sup>.

If man was neither predestined from the first to sin, nor liable to do so as a son of Adam, there was all the more reason to reprove him where he did stray, and here the satirist stepped in. It is perhaps significant that a religious sect such as the Methodists, who held to salvation by faith alone, had no use for satire. The belief that it was possible for the individual

<sup>25</sup> *An Account of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster* (London, 1699).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. his *Reformation of Manners* (1702).

<sup>27</sup> *The Eighteenth Century Background* (London, 1940), p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> 'To the Reverend Dr. MANN, occasioned by the Author's asking him for a subject to write on, and his saying he could think of none', in *Poems on Several Occasions* (London), 1749, p. 73.



to improve his character by his own efforts gave the satirist a purpose in writing; when, however, later in the eighteenth century, and under the influence of sentimentism, a belief in 'human progress', both material and spiritual, became fairly general he was deprived of that purpose.

The satirists' own explanation of their presence in numbers was of course that it was due to the extreme viciousness of the times. Law and religion were often corrupt; even when they were not so, they were unable to defend the cause of virtue unaided since there were many situations in which they were powerless; to them therefore must be added satire which appealed to that sense of public estimation which nature had planted in man. The practitioner of satire was truly a 'Minister of Religion'<sup>29</sup> — the phrase is Combe's and is intended to conjure up the picture of the satirist as an avenging angel. He must observe a strict code of behaviour; he must be free from the vices he corrects in others, even, Defoe says, to be 'willing to look back upon the best actions of his life with the temper of a penitent'<sup>30</sup>; attacks could be made only within certain well-defined limits. But the enemies of satire were not prepared to admit that the inspiration of virtue was at work. Addison told his readers in the *Spectator* (No. 16) that he had received lampoons from people who could not spell, and satires composed by those who scarcely knew how to write, so full of ill-nature was the world. E. Owen enlarged upon the motives behind satirical writing:

The instinct, for instance, of self-preservation will necessarily *feel* under any real or imaginary injury: and, unless disciplin'd by virtue or discretion, will break out, among other expressions of resentment, into contumelious language. And other principles there are which want nothing to irritate them, but their own native depravity. Gentle dulness, 'which ever loves a joke'; petulance, which delights in wanton mischief; buffoonery, which loves to raise a laugh at any expence of the finer feelings; envy, which triumphs in pulling down rival merit; pride which levels all distinctions but its own self-assumed consequence; and garrulity, 'which must prate or burst;' — all these and similar tempers will deal in reproaches, without any motive, except the mere sorry purpose of self-gratification.<sup>31</sup>

Dennis suggested that Pope's spleen arose from a sense of inferiority, because, like the frog in the fable, he was not allowed to be as big as an ox<sup>32</sup>; Charles Abbot suggested our 'natural love of Superiority' as a cause<sup>33</sup>; the satire of the Wits Blackmore attributed to a 'want of bread'<sup>34</sup>; and of course we are often told of Swift's 'disappointment'. No doubt there is something in all these explanations of the moving principle in satire, a disinterested love of virtue being the least common; certainly an acceptable account can be given in terms of the faults of human nature mentioned by Owen, in terms of social mal-adjustment sometimes arising

<sup>29</sup> *The Justification* (London, 1777), Preface.

<sup>30</sup> *Reformation of Manners* (London, 1702), Preface.

<sup>31</sup> 'Essay on Satire' attached to his *Satires of Juvenal* (London, 1785), p. 248.

<sup>32</sup> *Remarks on the Rape of the Lock* (1728), Preface, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> *Essay on the Use and Abuse of Satire* (Oxford, 1786), p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Satire on Wit* (1700).

from physical deformity, in terms of poverty and hunger, breeding discontent. From such sources come the emotions used by satire. They are to be found in every age, yet it is by no means every age that can use them in poetry, still less which can make great poetry of them.

To the Augustans the problem was fundamentally a moral one. Here was satire closely wedded to virtue, and yet making use of the vicious emotions; surely this was a major incompatibility. Dryden thought so:

.... we know, that, in Christian charity, all offences are to be forgiven, as we expect the like pardon for those we daily commit against Almighty God. And this consideration has often made me tremble when I was saying our Saviour's prayer.<sup>35</sup>

But this is the last time we find the specifically Christian note struck in satirical apologia, for under the shield of Deism it was possible to avoid such scrupulous heart-searchings. It was by no means possible to avoid the issue altogether however (one's enemies saw to that), but there was no need to do so; the situation had close analogies both in contemporary psychology and theology. The psychology, as described in the *Essay on Man*, held that there were two principles in human nature — self-love, and reason which regulated it. Now the passions were 'modes of self-love' which, though originally 'selfish', are transmuted by reason:

What crops of wit and honesty appear  
From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear!  
Ev'n av'rice, prudence; sloth, philosophy;  
Lust, through some certain strainers well refined,  
Is gentle love, and charms all womankind.<sup>36</sup>

Now as the first couplet hints, this process was at work in satire, in which reason directed the passions to noble ends. And again, in the sphere of theology was not a similar law in operation, of which this was but an example? Providence practised the 'eternal art' of 'educing good from ill'; evil was necessary to the scheme of the universe, partial evil was universal good. It was then easy for the satirist to offer his paradoxes; Arbuthnot could be described as one who liked an ill-natured jest the best of any good-natured man in the kingdom; and William Whitehead, in his *Charge to the Poets* could write:

If bile prevails, and temper dictates satire,  
Our wit is spleen, our virtue is ill-nature;  
With its own malice arm'd we combat evil,  
As zeal for God's sake sometimes plays the devil.<sup>37</sup>

The moral problem was neatly solved. There was also a literary problem involved — whether any particular emotions should be excluded from poetry; such a prohibition did exist, but as we shall see, satire was not affected by it.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>36</sup> 'Essay on Man', ii. 185-90.

<sup>37</sup> Chalmers' *Poets*, XVII, 232.

## III

Professor J. R. Sutherland's *Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry* appeared in 1948. This book, with its insistence that a just appraisal of this poetry depended on our understanding of what its writers were attempting, was in many ways an excellent one. The touchstone for Augustan verse cannot be taken from romantic theory or metaphysical practice, and Professor Sutherland well elucidated the assumptions lying behind it. But one felt that he paid insufficient attention to satire, having regard to its central position. Further, and here is the point, satire rides roughshod over the most important of those assumptions. In the chapter 'Truants and Rebels', Professor Sutherland does discuss the mock-heroic, but this does not enough redress the balance of his study, since the mock-heroic has only the politest of disagreements with the accepted canons.

First then, let us consider the demand for 'generality'. Johnson's words in the mouth of Imlac are well known:

The business of a poet is to examine, not the individual but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances; he does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the shades of verdure in the forest.<sup>38</sup>

In the theory of satire this became, under moral pressure, the principle of sparing the name whilst lashing the vice:

No Individual could resent,  
Where Thousands equally were meant.<sup>39</sup>

So Swift, and most writers would have agreed. In practice however it was very different; essentially personal attacks were the general rule, and this, from the purely literary point of view, was usually an advantage, since it gave those satirists of limited imaginative powers a model to work from and emotions to work with. Dryden's satire was personal; so, often, was Pope's. Pope indeed, in the *Epistle to Sir Richard Temple, Lord Viscount Cobham* could find little of value in a general view of mankind:

There's some Peculiar in each leaf and grain,  
Some unmark'd fibre, or some varying vein:  
Shall only Man be taken in the gross?  
Grant but as many sorts of Mind as Moss.  
That each from other differs, first confess:  
Next, that he varies from himself no less;  
Add Nature's, Custom's, Reason's, Passion's strife,  
And all Opinion's colours cast on life.<sup>40</sup>

Pope's leaf might almost have been offered in reply to Imlac's tulip. His own verse did indeed reach the general, but it did so through the particular, though in his case and the cases of the greater satirists it was not of course

<sup>38</sup> *Rasselas*, Ch. x., in *Works*, ed. Lynam (London, 1825), vi, p. 186.

<sup>39</sup> 'On the Death of Dr. Swift'. In *Poems*, p. 571.

<sup>40</sup> Lines 15-22.



necessary for success that the particular should be drawn from an actual person.

Again, satire permitted an unusually free expression of emotion. In other forms of poetry, since individuality savoured of 'pride', and violent emotions of 'enthusiasm', intensely personal or passionate feelings were objectified in the interests of dignity and universality; preferably emotion in verse should be 'public'; if not it must at least be 'publicised'. The *Tatler* (No. 242) applied this to satire:

There is no possibility of succeeding in a satirical way of writing or speaking, except a man throw himself quite out of the question. It is a great vanity to think any one will attend to a thing because it is your quarrel. You must make your satire the concern of society in general if you would have it regarded.

Lip-service done to this principle and the satirist could enter into an office from which, as virtue's guardian, he was free to speak his mind; he was indeed the poet of reason, but it was useless to reason with the profligate:

One of the most important objects therefore of Moral Satire, is to render those opinions contemptible by ridicule, of which the falsehood may be evinced by argument.<sup>41</sup>

It was necessary to 'strike the senses and rouse the heart', to awake new passions 'in opposition to prevailing affections'. Satire was very much concerned with the feelings. Further, it was too closely engaged in the rough and tumble of every-day life to allow time for their formalisation. And there was another consideration. Joseph Warton, reviewing the work of the Augustans, considered that their 'natural powers' had probably been 'confined and debilitated by a rigid regard to the dictates of art', and that by vainly striving to surpass the 'just models' they had become 'stiff, and forced, and affected in their thoughts and diction'.<sup>42</sup> The 'just models' were of course the Ancients, and in the case of satire, Horace and Juvenal. Now the influence of Horace alone might have been unfortunate, one feels, in the way that Warton suggests. Even Dryden found a certain tameness about him:

His urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be commended; but his wit is faint; and his salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid.<sup>43</sup>

But there was also Juvenal; Juvenal 'of a more vigorous and masculine wit'; Juvenal whose 'impetuosity', whose 'facit indignatio versum' had justified for all time the writing out of immediate passion; here then was an additional reason for the high emotional content of much Augustan satire. Yet whatever Horace's effects alone might have been, in company with Juvenal's they were wholly happy; the former disciplined the latter in an English satiric tradition, so that whichever one professed to be imitating, one was actually benefiting in some degree from the other also.

<sup>41</sup> This quotation, and those following in the text, are from Abbot, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

Each softer charm that grac'd th'Horatian Lyre, -  
 Sublim'd by Juvenal's most vigorous Fire,  
 Breathes in thy numbers.<sup>44</sup>

wrote William Boscawen of Pope with truth, though Pope was the avowed follower of Horace.

Finally, satire was under no obligation to employ poetic diction. The society which from the time of the Restoration grew up about court and coffee house in the capital encouraged social intercourse, and contemporary writers often remarked that its intimacy, and the arts of conversation which it favoured, aided the growth of satire.<sup>45</sup> Whereas the poet of an epic or tragedy had to 'take particular Care to guard himself against Idiomatick Ways of Speaking'<sup>46</sup>, the satirist rejoiced in them; whereas the former must avoid 'low words' (and even Shakespeare had offended), the latter used them frequently since they were necessary to his purpose of inducing in his audience a detestation of vice and folly. The periphrasis was often used, as Professor Sutherland has said, 'to cushion the eighteenth century reader on many occasions from too sharp a contact with actuality.' But it was the duty of the satirist to bring his readers up against that actuality, to convey 'truth' to them. On the other hand he could use a special diction if he wished to do so, especially in the mock-heroic, where it was however used only half-seriously; and a combination of the elevated and the mean was an effect of which Pope was fond.

For these reasons therefore, satire had a vitality not usually found in other forms of poetry, and which helped to give it a position of pre-eminence over them. Other factors, as we have seen, contributed to produce an atmosphere favourable to it — the Augustans' conception of the nature of truth, their exaltation of the intellect, their natural morality and stable universe, their respect for the Ancients and, one might add, Boileau, their social and political institutions; the satirist can be viewed in terms of a contrast — between his acceptance of the order of things and its rejection, which is symbolised by the mock-heroic, between his pessimistic view of human nature, and the optimism which led him to think it capable of improvement. And yet these are only reasons which partly suggest why satire should have come about; they can give no account of why on occasion it should have become great. This explanation we must seek in the greatness of the satirists.

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<sup>44</sup> *Progress of Satire* (London, 1798), p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Spence, quoted in *Pope and his Contemporaries*, ed. Clifford and Landa (Oxford, 1949), p. 248. J. Warton, *Adventurer*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> *Spectator*, 285.

## M. G. Lewis and Mme de Stael

In the history of the reception of German literature in England, there is hardly a more interesting and controversial person than Matthew Gregory Lewis. There is, perhaps, no author to whom the epithet 'notorious' has been more regularly and more monotonously applied, and objective estimates of his literary fame are strangely lacking, even among the major literary historians. The reason for this consistent lack of clear thinking is not difficult to find: the publication of his novel *Ambrosio, the Monk* in 1796 has never quite ceased to exert its influence, and these puerile effusions dashed down within the space of ten weeks, have coloured the writings of many of Lewis' critics and biographers; in their indignation they have been inclined to condemn the whole of his literary activities as being equally unfortunate. With one blow Lewis had swept away all the previous effusions of the 'Gothic' school, for in a series of horrors, each more ghastly than the one which preceded it, he had 'out-Walpoled' Walpole. With this novel he became the most talked of man in town, the pampered lion of society, and 'the high priest' of the 'intense' school. 'Truth and nature, to be sure, he held utterly at arm's length; but, instead he had a life-in-death rigour, a spasmodic energy, which answer well for all purposes of astonishment. He wrote of demons, ghouls, ghosts, vampires and disembodied spirits of every kind, as if they were the common machinery of society. A skeleton "in complete steel", or the spectre of a "bleeding nun" was ever at hand in emergencies, and wood demons, fire kings and water sprites, gave a fillip to the external scenery.' Against such a criticism there can be no complaint, and it could be well applied to many other products of this leader of the 'germanico-terrifico' school. But it is false to use the *Monk* as a measuring stick for the whole of Lewis' activity. Thus, E. A. Baker writes in the introduction to his edition of that novel in 1907, 'there is food for thought in the case of a man of mere average ability, who, on the strength of one crude production written in his teens, was able to find publishers and a market for a miscellaneous series of works that would daunt the hardihood of the most indefatigable researcher to read now ... (and who) was regarded as among the leading men of letters of his day'. For anyone who confines his appreciation of Lewis' achievements to *The Monk*, the popularity the author enjoyed can only be a matter of surprise and regret. Baker reveals his own position quite clearly when he writes 'of his later works, poems, plays, tales, translations and other effusions, very little need be said'. If this latter statement is correct, then we are surely doing a grave injustice to the poet Byron if we assume that the friendship which existed between Lewis and Byron was based on nothing but the former's notorious novel. The fact that Byron maintained a friendship with a person whom he found to be 'pestilently prolix and paradoxical and personal', points to their having one interest in common which was able to compensate Byron for the inanities of the 'damned bore'.



Among those many novelists whose pens catered for a shock hungry public, and whose works crammed the shelves of the penny libraries, Lewis rates very low indeed; his writings can command neither our credulity, nor even our interest. How much the less then can it have been this one book which earned for him his position among the leading men of letters of his day, and the friendship of Byron, Thomas Moore, William Lamb (later Lord Melbourne), and the celebrities of Holland House. But with the attention of literary historians being focussed on the threads binding England and Germany together, there has been a gradual awakening to the fact that it is in this sphere that Lewis' major achievements must be sought. Sir Leslie Stephen, in his superficial sketch of the importation of German literature into England, points to the real reason for Lewis' popularity which E. A. Baker sought in vain; he writes, 'Lewis should, however, be one of the leading names in the history of German literature'. Others were not so complimentary. F. W. Stokoe found his activity 'pestilent', and blamed him for having given England a false picture of German literature. 'Lewis, in pandering to the desire for German sensationalism or German sentimentality in its debased forms, contributed no doubt to bring about the disrepute which attached so long to German literature in England'. For at the end of the 18th Century many people considered German literature to be immoral. A German visitor to our shores was quick to notice this, 'many English consider German literature immoral and dangerous; but they have formed their hasty opinion from some trifling German novels which too easily find their way from circulating libraries to the toilet of beauty'. And it must be admitted that Lewis played a leading part in this traffic between the library and the dressing table, but the guilt is not his alone.

But unlike others who translated or — even worse — adapted from the German, Lewis had one great asset, namely his knowledge of the German language. For although one English visitor to Weimar could inform Goethe in 1825 that 'the interest taken in the German language is now so great, that there is scarcely a young Englishman of good family who does not learn German', the situation was by no means comparable with that obtaining towards the end of the eighteenth century. The opinion of the language's capabilities had changed little since James Howell's day; he found it, 'in very love more fit rudely to command than sweetly to persuade, it being an imperious short and rude kind of speech, and such as would make our children afraid to hear it, the very familiar speeches and pronunciations sounding better in the mouth of a Tamberlaine, than of a civil man'.

Lewis had spent a number of months at the Weimar court, and had certainly applied himself diligently to the study of the language. Shortly after his arrival he wrote to his mother, 'I am knocking my brains against German as hard as ever I can. I take a lesson every morning; and as I apply seriously I am flattered with promises that I shall soon speak very fluently in my throat'. His efforts were not unrewarded; he translated Goethe's 'Das Veilchen' and read it to the author personally. It is possible

that he also read to Herder translations of some of the ballads the latter had gathered together in his collection, *Stimmen der Völker*. Byron, too, was to benefit from Lewis' command of the German language, for it was to him that Byron owed his knowledge of Goethe's *Faust*, having heard Lewis translate parts of it viva voce. This was evidently one compensation for suffering the 'damned bore' so long.

Whereas Lewis 'with the perverted lusts of a sadist' (Baker!) is generally thought to have played a discreditable part in the introduction of German literature into England, that played by Mme. de Stael is far different. The appearance of her book *De L'Allemagne* in an English translation marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Anglo-German literary relations. Since 1813, she passed for an authority on that country, its institutions, and its literature. That she did a great deal to alter completely prevailing opinions on these subjects is without doubt, but whether her knowledge of German literature was at all deep is open to question. Evidence on this point has been left us by the 'literary colporteur' Henry Crabb Robinson in his letters to his brother. On one occasion he wrote, 'N.B. You may make this public. She told it me herself. To be free from the ennui which a secluded life must cause, Mme. de Stael undertook a literary journey into Germany with the purpose of learning the language and studying the new German philosophy. She has spent some weeks at Weimar and has gained the hearts of all, from the Duke down to the lowest of the literati with whom she associates. . . . I was invited to her in order to be interrogated on the new philosophy, and I saw clearly enough that *I was used*. I did not suffer myself to be deceived by her compliments or disconcerted by her railleries, but had the pure pleasure of seeing through and understanding the comedy she was playing — It is true I could not resist her blandishments and have committed myself so far as to draw up in English (which she speaks exceedingly well) some account of the new philosophy which she will employ unquestionably against this same philosophy in a work she is now writing — Mme. de Stael is one of those persons who with a most acute understanding and elegant wit has nothing else. . . . And what is an eternal bar to all advances, she does not suppose that there is anything beyond her reach.' But the influence of *De L'Allemagne* is undisputed, and we concur with Carlyle, 'the work indeed with all its vagueness and shortcomings must be regarded as the precursor, if not the parent, of whatever acquaintance with German literature exists among us'.

Both Mme. de Stael and M. G. Lewis were conversationalists of note; unfortunately we can only draw on very limited evidence of their meetings, but their inference is considerable. On several occasions Byron mentions Mme. de Stael's volubility. She wrote octavos and talked folios, and he wrote to Miss Milbanke, 'her tongue is the perpetual motion'. Just as he thought Lewis would increase his popularity if he would confine his visits to one hour's duration, so Byron maintained with regard to Mme. de

Stael, 'her works are my delight and so is she herself — for half an hour'. Nor was Byron ignorant of the fact that she was more civil to him in person than during his absence. Lewis — whom he found too great a bore even to lie — had assured him upon his tiresome word of honour, that at Florence Mme. de Stael was 'open-mouthed' against him. Lewis, too, was voluble. Sir Walter Scott found 'nothing was more tiresome than Lewis when he began to harp upon any extravagant proposition. He would tinker at it for hours without mercy, and repeat the same thing in four hundred different ways. If you assented in despair he resumed his reasoning in triumph, and you had only for your pains the disgrace of giving in. If you disputed, daylight and candle-light could not bring the discussion to an end, and Mat's arguments were always ditto repeated'. Byron concurred and took his revenge by 'setting him by the ears with some vivacious persons who hated bores, especially Mme. de Stael'.

It was after such a meeting with Mme. de Stael that Lewis wrote in desperation — perhaps not quite as affected as might appear at first sight — to his friend and confidante, Lady Charlotte Campbell, 'Tomorrow you will see me quite crestfallen. Mme. de Stael! Oh! Mme. de Stael! Oh! Huncamunca, Huncamunca Oh! How shall I write it. She told me — she uttered it with her own lips — I heard it with my own ears — it was to my own face, which still burns with mortification that she said it — she told me — shame checks my pen — in short, she told me that I was *inférieur*! Oh! all ye gods, *inférieur*! Write it not my hand. The word appears already written; wash it out my tears; and not *inférieur* merely, but *très inférieur*. Humiliating truth, can I ever survive thy declaration'.

Byron met him after such an encounter, and noted in his journal, 'I saw Lewis who is just returned from Oatlands, where he has been squabbling with Mme. de Stael about himself, Clarissa Harlowe, Mackintosh and me. She bored Lewis with praises of himself till he sickened. I should like, of all things, to have heard the Amabœan eclogue between her and Lewis, both obstinate, clever, odd, garrulous, and shrill. In fact one could have heard nothing else. But they fell out, alas! — and now they will never quarrel again'.

Although Mme. de Stael possessed 'a most commanding eloquence, brilliant wit, a piercing observation, and the most accurate knowledge of the little laws of the drawing and dining room', Lewis' final judgment on her was severe. He confided in a letter to Lady Charlotte, '.... as a rule, I have an aversion, a pity and contempt, for all female scribblers. Mme. de Stael even I will not except from this general rule. She has done a plaguy deal of mischief, and no good, by meddling in literary matters and I wish to heaven she would renounce pen, ink and paper for evermore'.



## Notes and News

### The Earliest Printing of Old English Poetry

The significance of 1655 in the history of Old English scholarship has long been recognized, for it was in that year that Francis Junius published at Amsterdam the contents of the manuscript now known by his name under the title of *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica genesios ac præcipuarum sacræ paginæ historiarum, abhinc MLXX*, and so gave the world its first view of a considerable body of Old English poetry. This was not, however, the first Old English verse to get into print, as John Petheram long ago pointed out,<sup>1</sup> for Roger Twvnsden in 1652 had included the poem on Durham in his *Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores decem*. Richard Wülker echoes Petheram in his *Grundriss*, when he cites 1652 as the year in which Old English poetry was first printed, though he contradicts himself elsewhere in the same volume,<sup>2</sup> and Eleanor N. Adams in her Yale dissertation shows no advance beyond Petheram's knowledge and no awareness of Wülker's inconsistency.<sup>3</sup>

So the matter stood until a few years ago, when F. L. Uteley edited with detailed comments two Old English poems that were written and first printed in 1641, in *Irenodia Cantabrigiensis*, a miscellany evoked by the unsuccessful expedition made in that year by Charles I to Scotland.<sup>4</sup> One of these, quoted, incidentally, by Wülker,<sup>5</sup> is the work of Abraham Wheloc, presumably the first holder of the lectureship in Anglo-Saxon established at Cambridge by Sir Henry Spelman. The other, completely neglected before Uteley's paper, is by William Retchford, a Cambridge student who had obviously learned Old English under Wheloc's guidance. Uteley calls attention to the oversight by Wülker and Adams of the poems in Wheloc's 1643 edition of Bede and the *Old English Chronicle* and so moves the earliest publication of Old English verse to 1643, to 1641 in the case of the two pieces written in that year. 'Not one scrap of Old English verse,' he affirms, 'had been printed before 1641; the first fragments to see the light were those imbedded in Wheloc's own edition of Bede and the Chronicle.'<sup>6</sup>

There was, however, Old English poetry in print before the 1640's. Sir

<sup>1</sup> *An Historical Sketch of the Progress and Present State of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England* (London, 1840), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 19. In his treatment of the poems in the *Old English Chronicle*, pp. 339 ff., Wülker notes the publication of *The Battle of Brunanburh*, *The Capture of the Five Boroughs*, *The Coronation of Edgar*, and *The Death of Edgar* in Wheloc's 1643 edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*, Yale Studies in English, LV (New Haven, 1917), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> 'Two Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Poems,' *MLQ*, III (1942), 243-61.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> P. 258.

E. S. XXXIV. 1953.

Henry Spelman, whose encouragement of Wheloc is but one aspect of his interest in Anglo-Saxon England, included the eleven-line poem now known as 'Thureth' in his *Concilia* (1639), with a Latin translation paralleling the Old English text. Though these verses have been published a number of times since then, most recently by E. V. K. Dobbie,<sup>7</sup> it is more than mere antiquarianism, I believe, that warrants their printing here, along with the Latin translation, as they are found in the 1639 volume:<sup>8</sup>

Ic eom halgung boc healde hine  
dryhten þeme fægere þus  
frætwum be lægde þureð to  
þance þus het mewyrcean to loue  
I to wurðe þam þe leoht gesceop.  
gemýndi ishe mihta gehwýlcne  
þas þe he onfoldan gefremian  
mæg I hunge þancie þeoda wal-  
dend þæs þe he on gemýnde mad-  
ma manega wýle gemearcian  
metode tolace. I he sceal  
exeleam ealle findan þæs  
þe he onfoldan  
fræmap to  
rýhte;

Ego sum liber administratio-  
num sacrarum, propitius sit  
Dominus ei precor, qui me  
tam pulchrè ornatum posuit,  
piæ memoriæ ðureð sic me  
jussit concinnari, amoris & eo-  
rum causâ qui luminis emendi  
sunt memores: multum valet  
is qui me rectè explicare pote-  
rit, & retribuet ei Rector nati-  
onum quòd fuerit sollicitus  
multas mihi pretiosas res. of-  
ferre, & mercedem inte-  
gram accipiet rectæ  
suæ ac fructose  
explicati-  
onis.<sup>9</sup>

It is to the Continent, however, that one must look for what seems to be the first Old English verse ever printed, just as one finds there the publication of the first important collection of Old English poetry. For at Mainz in 1605 the lines now called 'A Proverb from Winfred's Time'

<sup>7</sup> The bibliographical data used in this paper are available in E. V. K. Dobbie's edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, VI (New York, 1942), but I find no statement by Dobbie concerning the earliest printing of Old English poetry.

<sup>8</sup> H. Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones, in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* (London, 1639), pp. 510-11. I keep the text precisely as printed, including the lineation.

<sup>9</sup> It seems safe to assume that Spelman's text and that printed by Dobbie, p. 97, derive from the same manuscript, yet the differences between the two are of interest. Whether they are due to Spelman's transcript or to his printer cannot, of course, be determined, but they look like the work of a not too competent student of Old English — which is what should be expected in the first half of the seventeenth century, when there was neither dictionary nor grammar for guidance.

In ten instances Spelman's division of words is faulty. Twice two words are used where one is proper: *halgung boc*, be *lægde*. The prefix *ge-*, which belongs with *þancie*, is attached to the preceding word, *hunge*. Seven times words are run together: *þeme*, *mewyrcean*, *ishe*, *onfoldan* (twice), *tolace*, *exeleam*. There are also misreadings. Twice *æ* is read for *e* (*lægde*, *fræmap*) and once *a* is read for *æ* (*bas*). The combination *un* is the reading for *im* (*hunge*), *n* is a mistake for *r* (*gehwýlcne*) and *x* is the reading for *c* (*exeleam*). These misreadings, it may be noted, are not unusual. Examples of *æ* for *e*, *a* for *æ*, *un* for *im*, and *n* for *r* occur in both the A and B transcripts of *Beowulf*. See Kemp Malone, ed., *The Thorkelin Transcripts of Beowulf*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, I (Copenhagen, 1951), pp. 13ff.

appeared in an edition of the *Epistolæ S. Bonifacii martyris*. The text of the appropriate letter follows:<sup>10</sup>

Epistola LXI

Reverendissimo atque sanctissimo N. ego minimus, nomine

Latito, sine fine salutem in Domino.

Audio de te, quod iter vis incipere, hortor ut non defeceris. Eia, fac quod incepisti. Memento Saxonicum verbum: *Oft daed lata domæ foreldit sigisthagahuem suurltit thiana*. Sed tamen tale quid in te haud scio. Non est hic operandum: sed tende ubi messis est, Deo adiuvante, sicut Salvator dicit: *Messis quidem multa, operarij autem pauci, & cætera*. De me quid dicam minimo? qui sub regula alterius vivo nihil habens lucri, sicut omnium moris est hic habitantium, nihil habentium, nisi quotidiana stipendia, sed tamen non doleo propter nimiam paupertatem, quomodo Dominus consolavit nos dicens: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum regnum cælorum*.<sup>11</sup>

The upshot of all this, then, is that 1655 retains its significance in Old English scholarship, that 1652 is by no means so important as Adams would have it, that 1643 continues to be interesting since such well-known pieces as *The Battle of Brunanburh* and *Caedmon's Hymn* were then first printed, and that 1641 remains noteworthy for the appearance of the first Old English poetry written in more than five centuries. But before that, Spelman published a short poem, and the inclusion of the two-line proverb in the 1605 volume narrows the gap between the printing of the first Old English prose and the publication of the first Old English verse from three-quarters of a century to thirty-nine years.

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### Another Renaissance Biography of Sir Thomas More

The early seventeenth-century Bishop of Amelia, Antonio Maria Graziani (Gratianus) of Borgo San Sepolcro (1537—1611), left some important memoirs dealing with the ecclesiastical and political history of his times; these were edited in 1680 under the title of *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*<sup>1</sup> and contain — with essays on Thomas Wolsey, Henry VIII, Pole,

<sup>10</sup> N. Serarius, *Epistolæ S. Bonifacii martyris* (Mainz, 1605), p. 73. I keep the text as printed save for the regularizing of *u* and *v*, which are not consistently used in the Latin letter.

<sup>11</sup> There are five differences between the text here printed and that established by Dobbie, p. 57. Three times the word division is faulty: *daed lata* should be one word, and both *sigisthagahuem* and *thiana* should be two words. The vowel *æ* is a misreading for *ē* in *domæ*, and *r* is an error for *y* in *suurltit*.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by D. Fléchier (bp. of Nîmes 1632—1710) and printed in Paris by Ant. Cellier in 1680.



Northumberland, and other English as well as continental notables — an essay on John Fisher and Thomas More. While this work may be known to historians of the *de casibus* tradition and other specialists and biographers,<sup>2</sup> I do not find any reference to Graziani in the standard biographical works of R. W. Chambers and E. M. G. Routh; nor do I find a reference in the most useful check list by Frank and Majie P. Sullivan, *Moreana: 1478—1945*.<sup>3</sup>

The biographical essay on More is not notable for new materials,<sup>4</sup> but it is significant for two reasons. First, most of the early lives of More were written in what Professor Stauffer has presented as the tradition of the saints' lives (Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More* he calls 'a direct descendant of the saints' lives'<sup>5</sup>, and Graziani's life is manifestly in the tradition of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* — it is (in Graziani's perhaps unintentionally chauvinistic words) one of 'exempla casuum humanorum nusquam alibi crebriora, quàm apud Britannos invenias ...'<sup>6</sup> Second, Graziani's account of the purpose of the *Utopia*, while not first-hand, is an

<sup>2</sup> I am in fact indebted to a recent catalogue (no. 98) of E. P. Goldschmidt & Co. for reference to this work.

<sup>3</sup> Published by Rockhurst College (Kansas City, Mo., 1946); perhaps I might here suggest these additions (through 1945) to their materials for a biography of More:

Guiney, Louise I., *Recusant Poets* (1939).

Maitland, F. W., *English Law and the Renaissance* (1901).

Plucknett, T. F. T., 'Some Proposed Legislation of Henry VIII,' *Trans. R. H. S.*, 4th Ser., xix (1936), 119-44.

Read, Conyers, *Bibliography of British History — Tudor Period* (1933).

Bush, Douglas, 'Tudor Humanism and Henry VIII,' *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, vii (1938), 162-77.

———, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (1939).

Donner, H. W., 'The Interpretation of *Utopia*,' *Studia Neophilologica*, xv (1942), 43-8. For biographical materials since 1945, may I point out that in a forthcoming essay in *The Month*, I sketch a survey of recent More scholarship.

<sup>4</sup> According to Prof. Henry de Vocht (who has a very brief notice of the *De Casibus* in his *Acta Thomae Mori* [Louvain, 1947], p. 93), Graziani makes use of the *Expositio Fidelis* (1536) for his biographical notices of More — though Prof. de Vocht is surely in error when he writes that the *De Casibus* was published in 1580, for to my knowledge the 1680 edition was the first.

Another important connexion is doubtless Cardinal Gian. Franc. Commendone (to whom Graziani was secretary of state and whose life Graziani wrote); Commendone was at the Council of Trent (*Dizionario degli Scrittori d'Italia*, G. Casati [Milano, n.d.], III, 227).

One example must suffice to show how typical is Graziani's material and treatment. Professor Stauffer has commented (in his *English Biography before 1700*, [1930], p. 134) upon Stapleton's biography of More, that 'there is even a chapter devoted to More's daughter': this is fairly typical in biographies of More, and in his short essay Graziani has a paragraph praising Margaret:

'Filia erat Moro, nomine Margareta, puella ingenii probi ac magni, & ex eo unice dilecta patri; à quo non honesto modo, & perhonorifico semper cultu educata, sed in liberalium quoque disciplinarum studiis, & Graecis & Latinis literis erudita fuerat.' (p. 207.)

<sup>5</sup> Stauffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Graziani, p. 193.

important corroboration of the interpretation of such contemporaries as Budé. Graziani writes:

in quo novae Insulae commento optimae Reipublicae leges formamque exprimere est conatus. Aliarum gentium res, mores, instituta percunctando legendoque, magnā in id curā studioque adhibito, explorata cognitaque habuit, & exterorum amicitias eruditionis famā conciliatas absens diligenter coluit. A juris civilis studiis, quibus adolescens intentam operam impendit, ad causas agendas in forum cū descendisset, ...<sup>7</sup>

With this we may compare Budé's emphasis on law in his letter to Lupset. Budé speaks of the plundering and appropriating and litigation going on: 'Id adeo magis in iis gentibus, apud quas iura quae ciuilia et pontificia uocantur amplius in utroque foro ualent; ...'<sup>8</sup> And he concludes (on the importance of *Utopia* in modifying legal and political institutions): 'Eius enim historiam aetas nostra posteraeque aetates habebunt uelut elegantium utiliumque institutorum seminarium, unde translaticios mores in suam quisque ciuitatem importent et accommodent ...'<sup>9</sup> Granted that the emphasis on law is only one of the emphases in Budé's praise of *Utopia*, yet I think that this is closer to the central issues and More's intentions than the rather peripheral interpretations of the most recent writer on *Utopia* who says that Budé and Busleyden thought More was 'praising community of property and rejecting private property as the basis of the Good Society.'<sup>10</sup>

For these reasons I find Graziani's treatment of More and his statement on the writing of *Utopia* of some significance.

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### The Text of The Castle of Indolence

In 1908, by some coincidence, a long-awaited variorum of Thomson's *Seasons* was finally provided by two scholars, Otto Zippel in a Berlin edition of the poem, and J. Logie Robertson in a London edition of the complete *Poetical Works*. Not so urgently required, apparently, either at that time or since, has been a similar treatment of the *Castle of Indolence*, a work second only to the *Seasons* both in its poetic excellence and, as we now discover, in the convolutions of its text. Thus denied any knowledge of the problem, the editors of the lesser work have intuitively chosen as the copy for their reprints any one of four different editions or, more frequently,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>8</sup> Budé's letter to Thomas Lupset is prefixed to Lupton's edition of *Utopia* (Oxford, 1895), p. lxxxiii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

<sup>10</sup> J. H. Hexter, *More's Utopia — The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1952), p. 47. I have touched upon this matter in a review of this work forthcoming in *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

the latest and most accessible derivatives of these.<sup>1</sup> The early printings that now rather belatedly demand attention comprise (1) the first edition, in quarto, published on May 7, 1748; (2) the second edition, in octavo, published on September 22 of the same year; (3) the text in the second volume of the 1750 *Works*, a duodecimo printing under the editorship of Lord Lyttelton; and, of little consequence to our study, (4) a piratical edition, in octavo, issued immediately after the original publication.<sup>2</sup> Except for (4), a close copy of the quarto, each of these presents a substantially different text.

For their selection of (1), (3), or (4) the editors concerned offer no explanation, and none can easily be advanced. For his choice of (2) Robertson, with nothing but the annual dates to influence his decision, plausibly assumed that this printing appeared shortly before Thomson's death on August 27, and was thus the last to come under his supervision.<sup>3</sup> As we perceive, however, the second edition was issued posthumously, and may therefore have little relevance to Thomson's final intentions. One must remember that the author had numerous friends, all involved in everything he did, some as the amanuenses of his illegible script, some as confidants and advisors in the preparation of his verse, some, after his death, as the editors and producers of his several poems and plays. Of these, the one most inclined to amend the work of the poet, and the only one who could have had access to his papers — including the copy for any intended revisions — was his literary executor, George Lyttelton. The fact that Lyttelton has long been known as the self-appointed redactor of the *Seasons* and more recently accused of some tampering in *Coriolanus* only serves to increase our suspicion.<sup>4</sup> If the second edition is to be accepted, then, either in whole or in part, it will be necessary to identify the source of the revisions which it contains.

<sup>1</sup> Based directly or ultimately on edition (1), *Poetical Works*, ed. Duncan C. Tovey (London, 1897), *English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cecil A. Moore (New York, 1935), *Eighteenth Century Poetry & Prose*, ed. L. I. Bredvold and others (New York, 1939); on edition (2), *Poetical Works*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (London, 1908), *College Survey of English Literature*, ed. B. J. Whiting and others (New York, 1945); on edition (3), all 18th century editions and anthologies of the collected works, Pickering's 1830 edition, and a recent undated edition published by Thomas Crowell (New York and Boston); on edition (4), *A Collection of English Poems 1660-1800*, ed. Ronald S. Crane (New York, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> An account of the typographical variation in the 1748 editions will be found in the *Book Collector*, I (1952) 192-93. On the evidence of certain preliminary announcements in the *London Evening-Post* the original date of publication, as cited in that account, must be advanced to the one which I have now quoted.

<sup>3</sup> This, I believe, is the inference to be drawn from the necessarily equivocal comment: 'First published (probably in May) in 1748; first ed. in 4to, and second in 8vo, both in the same year. Thomson died in the following August.... The text of the second edition, as being the last to receive the author's revision, is given here.' Though he alludes to revisions, both here (p. 251) and elsewhere (p. xii), there is no indication that Robertson checked to see if any appeared.

<sup>4</sup> See my 'Unauthorized Readings in the First Edition of Thomson's *Coriolanus*,' *PBSA*, XLVI (1952), 62-66.



From the accompanying table of variants we may now speculate upon the origin and authority of the readings in the several editions. These variants, as we observe, fall into three groups: (A) of some 47 readings in which 1 and 3 agree against 2; (B) of 31 readings in which 1 and 2 agree against 3; and (C) of 7 readings in which 2 and 3 agree against 1. Unless the evidence to be examined in (C) enforces a contrary opinion, the preponderance of variants in (A) would appear to exclude Lyttelton, our most likely suspect, from any participation in edition 2. Of the 54 readings originally presented in this text (groups A and C) only 7 occur in his edition of 1750, and practically all of these may be dismissed as independent corrections required by context. Apparently, then, his edition 3 derives from a copy of 1 containing, besides the 7 already mentioned, some 31 other manuscript emendations (B) now supplied for the first time. These others, we may presume, are of his own manufacture, provided two years after Thomson's death, and hence completely unauthorized.

This decision brings us to group C and, here, to a plausible supposition that Thomson was responsible for all but one of the revisions in edition 2. The clue leading to this association is found in the first canto at LXXV.6 where, unlike the trivial alterations elsewhere observed in the group, there appears a line which has been completely recast. Quite obviously this is a substantial emendation proposed shortly after the publication of the quarto — by whom we do not know — and then adopted by mutual agreement between the persons who were later to edit texts 2 and 3. Had there been no concurrence whatever between these two texts we might suspect in 2, as in 3, the work of still another interloper — the corrector at press, perhaps. But in the presence of this one important reading we may infer some slight collaboration between Lyttelton and Thomson and, with the sole exception, therefore designate the revisions as the poet's, all completed, entered in his quarto copy, and submitted to the printer before his death on August 27. It is indeed a happy circumstance that Lyttelton was kept in ignorance of this text, for had he known of it he might well have added to the 54 alterations which it contained the 31 others which he had devised. Such a farrago as this, if detected, would allow an editor no alternative but to revert to the original quarto, despite its imperfections, as the only uncontaminated edition of the three.

From the evidence which has been adduced we may now confirm Robertson's presumption that the second is, essentially, the definitive edition, but deny the implied conclusion that it was attended by the author. Like most posthumous issues, this is not exempt from careless errors and unwanted 'improvements', especially in such accidentals as spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. Whenever, as in these matters, printing-house custom may prevail over the author's intent, a choice between two defensible readings should usually be resolved in favor of the quarto, the text closest to the original script. But as this also bears some indication of hasty proof-work, exceptions to the practice, as noted in the Table, may be admitted for the reasons proposed. If accepted, these and other

considerations provide for the *Castle of Indolence* an authoritative text including 27 accidentals from the first edition, 27 accidental and substantial readings from the second, and none of whatever sort from the third and fourth. No text in print meets all of these requirements.

### Collation of Variants

[In the column headed PR (preferred reading) an asterisk marks a subtended note of explanation]

| Canto I      | Group A                      | Why? Each on Each                 |
|--------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Stanza       | PR Editions 1, 3] 2.         | to prey, by Guile or Gall;/       |
| I. 7 2       | Star] Stars                  | With Flattery These, with         |
| II. 4 1      | no where] no-where           | Slander Those to blight,          |
| VI. 1 1      | Drowsy-hed] Drowsyhed        | LIV. 5 1 set.] set;               |
| XVIII. 8 1   | Zephir's] Zephyr's           | LVI. 5 2 Yea many] Yea, many      |
| XXVI. 3 1    | in, array'd;] in array'd;    | LVII. 5 1* soot] soote            |
| XXVIII. 2 2* | Tromp] Trump                 | LVIII. 7 2 trembling] quivering   |
| XXX. 3 1     | be lone] be, lone            | LIX. 3 2 Beneath] Amongst         |
| XXXIV. 1 1   | every where] every-where     | LIX. 9 2 Tract] Trace             |
| XXXIV. 3 1   | Food] Food,                  | LXI. 4 1 Linnen] Linen            |
| XXXV. 6 1    | To wit,] To-wit,             | LXIV. 3 1 Bloom and] Bloom, and   |
| XXXVII. 2 2* | Depainted] Depeinten         | LXIV. 6 2 or nearly] or, nearly   |
| XXXIX. 3 1   | Aerial] Aereal               | LXX. 9 2 forth mysterious] forth, |
| XXXIX. 8 1   | enchanting] inchanting       | mysterious                        |
| XL. 2 2      | Here lull'd] Here sooth'd    | LXXVI. 5 1 Physick] Physic        |
| XLIV. 7 1    | Etherial] Ethereal           | Canto II                          |
| XLV. 8 2*    | Heaven] Heav'n               | I. 9 2* Inchanter] Enchanter      |
| XLVII. 4 2   | the Blank... Bloom!] the     | II. 7 1 Toil,] Toil               |
|              | Wilds... Bloom;              | XII. 7 1 Fabrick] Fabric          |
| XLVII. 9 2   | Heart.] Heart!               | XIII. 7 1 Trumpet] Trumpet,       |
| XLIX. 7 1    | vain... fly,] vain, ... fly; | XXI. 4 1 free,] free:             |
| XLIX. 8 2    | which obtain'd the] which,   | XXXII. 1/2 2 no quotes] in quotes |
|              | obtain'd, the                | XLII. 9 1 Touch,] Touch;          |
| LII. 3 2     | Backwards and forwards]      | XLIII. 2 1 Foe;] Foe:             |
|              | Forwards and backwards       | XLIII. 6 2* Inrag'd] Enrag'd      |
| LIII. 7/8 2  | Why? On each other with      | L. 5 1 compleat] complete         |
|              | fell Tooth to fall; /        | LVIII. 3 2* raises] rises         |
|              | A Neighbour's Fortune,       | LIX. 5 1 Woe:] Woe;               |
|              | Fame, or Peace, to blight,]  | LXIII. 2 1 Tryal] Trial           |
|              |                              | LXXVI. 4 1 Cell:] Cell;           |

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| Canto I            | Group B                    | XLVII. 6  | impart!] impart:          |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| Stanza             | Editions 1, 2] 3           | XLVIII. 5 | Transport!] transport,    |
| [In this group all | 1 readings are preferable] | XLVIII. 8 | Brooks — ] brooks! —      |
| XX. 5              | slip'd] slip't             | L. 6      | line in roman] in italics |
| XXXI. 6            | String?] string,           | LIII. 4   | Wall:] wall!              |
| XLVII. 2           | Gloom!] gloom:             | LIII. 5   | hark!] hark               |

|           |  |            |  |
|-----------|--|------------|--|
| LIII. 5   | call.] call!   | XLVII. 9   | Whole?] whole.   |
| LVIII. 5  | Camomil] camomoil  | LV-LVI     | <i>stanzas present] omitted</i>  |
| LXI. 5    | Loop-Hole] loop-holes                                    | LVII. 1    | But what avail] (LV)   |
| LXVII. 1  | Esopus <i>no note]</i> <i>note</i><br>*Mr. <i>Quin</i> . | LVII. 2    | Ah! what avail<br>When sickening Health]<br>(LV) When drooping<br>health |
| Canto II  |  | LXIX. 3    | Depeinten]<br>(LXVII) Depeinted  |
| XI. 5     | Globe,] Globe,   | LXXIV. 3   | Hue;] (LXXII) hue  |
| XV. 6     | not Life, but Rapine] a<br>scene of rapine               | LXXIV. 8   | human Aid]<br>(LXXII) lenient aid  |
| XXI. 2    | <i>Propontis]</i> <i>Propontick</i>                      | LXXIV. 9   | unhappy Fry]<br>(LXXII) sad company                                      |
| XXVIII. 7 | Even here, sometimes,]<br>Here too brisk gales           | LXXV. 2    | <i>peculiar]</i><br>(LXXIII) peculiar                                    |
| XXIX. 4   | his] <i>his</i>  | LXXVIII. 3 | Stearns] (LXXVI) streams   |
| XXIX. 5   | he] <i>he</i>  |            |  |
| XXXIII. 4 | his <i>no note]</i> <i>note</i><br>*The Nightingale.     |            |  |
| XLVII. 1  | Strain.] strain, —                                       |            |  |

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|                    |  |           |  |
|--------------------|--|-----------|--|
| Canto I            | Group C  | Canto II  |  |
| Stanza             | Editions 1] 2, 3   | IX. 2     | Science and] Science, and                                  |
| [In this group all | 2 readings are preferable]   | XXXVII. 9 | Hurry] Hurry   |
| XXVIII. 9          | annoy] annoy."   | LXII. 6   | Priviledge] Privilege                                      |
| XXXIV. 7           | undemanded, by]<br>undemanded by   | LXX       | <i>stanza without quotes]</i><br><i>stanza with quotes</i> |
| LXXV. 6            | And here a moping Mystery<br>did sit,] And moping here<br>did <i>Hypochondria</i> sit, |           |  |

Notes, Canto I: XXVIII. 2 Spelled Trump in 1 ed., LXIV. 8. — XXXVII. 2 Spelled Depeinten in 1 ed., Canto II, LXIX. 3. — XLV. 8 Scans as one syllable. — LVII. 5 Spelled soot in Explanation of Obsolete Words affixed to 1 ed. — Canto II: I. 9 and XLIII. 6 Cf. spelling Canto I, XXXIX. 8. — LVIII. 3 Requires intransitive verb.

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## Reviews

*A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.* By HANS KURATH. University of Michigan Press. 1949. x + 88 pp. + 164 full-page maps. \$4.—.

*An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects.* By ANGUS MCINTOSH. University of Edinburgh Linguistic Survey of Scotland Monographs No. 1. Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. Edinburgh. 1952. xii + 122 pp. 7s.6d.

In order to appreciate these two books fully one must study them in connection with two linguistic atlases, one American, the other Scotch. As the American Atlas has already been published, at any rate the essential part of it (there appeared in 1939 LANE, *Linguistic Atlas of New England*), while the Scottish Atlas is only in the initial stage of its preparation, the relation of the books to their respective atlases is different and hence also their purposes. And yet they have certain features in common: their authors are the directors of the two surveys, both books constitute the first volumes of two promising series to be known as *Studies in American English* and *Linguistic Survey of Scotland Monographs*; both, in a way, may be called first fruits and both, of course, are meant to serve as propaganda, though in a varying degree. We say 'of course' because a linguistic survey is such a stupendous scheme, taking years and years to produce, that it depends for its success on the financial and moral support of the public. There is, therefore, ample justification for the two books: McIntosh prepares the ground and the public, Kurath shows results.

Kurath's book is obviously the more spectacular; it is an impressive volume containing 80 pages of commentary, a seven-page glossary, and 164 full-page maps. The area dealt with comprises practically all the Eastern states, hence a good deal more than the territory covered by LANE. It is the coastal belt from Maine down to Georgia, thus adding to New England the Middle Atlantic States (i.e. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) and the South Atlantic States (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina). The material here used is drawn, for New England, from the published maps of LANE and for the rest from the recordings, as yet unpublished, made for the Atlas by the late Dr. Guy S. Lowman over a period of seven years. We may here repeat what Kurath, in his Preface, says of this indefatigable worker: 'Without his skilful, painstaking, and self-sacrificing work, which took him to every county in this far-flung section of our country, this book could not have been written.'

To appreciate the facts presented in this book, we Europeans should remember two things: the geographical distances and the racial differences of the settlers. Both, to be sure, augur well for great lexical diversity. The distance from the Northern tip of Maine to Georgia is 1200 miles as

the crow flies, i.e. twice the distance from Land's End to John o' Groats; the territory is nearly four times the size of Great Britain. Most areas were of course settled by Britons but there are in between large tracts colonized by Germans (Pennsylvania), Dutchmen (Hudson Valley), Swedes (New Jersey?), to mention only the main contingents. Naturally, we expect them all to leave traces of their languages on the maps.

Kurath in this study confines himself to words, which, in itself, is no drawback, for among all the linguistic maps it is the lexical that impress the student most. These words emerged as the answers to 112 notions asked. How the selection of these notions was made we are not told. Comparison shows that some notions that proved promising in LANE have been omitted, while 20 new notions (e.g. *armful*, *andirons*, *vest* etc.) have been adopted. This accordingly leaves a blank corner for the New England States. Obviously they are all notions for which there are local and regional terms that lend themselves well to delimiting word- and speech-areas. They are most commonly found 'in the vocabulary of the intimate everyday life of the home and the farm'. We are not surprised to find that of the 112 notions 80 are nominal (referring to things and animals), 10 only verbal (referring to actions), 12 adverbial, 8 of them calls to animals.

So much about the material. Now, how is it presented and what does it show?

The casual reader will learn from the maps that e.g. 'a paper bag' in the West Midland is called a *poke*, in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania a *toot*, that for 'the porch' in the Hudson Valley they say *stoop* (a Dutch word), that for *saw horse* (in general use) you hear in German and Dutch settlement-areas *saw buck*, made after German *Sägebock*, Dutch *zaagbok*.

The more serious student will be interested in how these speech areas relate to the routes of migration, the trade- and culture-areas. He will also learn from the explanations in Ch. II, III about the spread of the various words, e.g. how *stoop* is spreading East (e.g. into New England), how *stone boat* is moving West and South; how in New England the local *tilting board* is being supplanted by the regional *teeter* and the latter again by the national *seesaw*.

Finally, the linguist is anxious to know whether these word areas shape into speech areas, and how these are delimited and sub-divided. Kurath undertakes to describe 'the dialectal structure of the Eastern States in so far as it is revealed in the everyday vocabulary' (p. 11). In Ch. II (The Speech Areas of the Eastern States, p. 11-49) he states in detailed form the geographical facts which are illustrated on the maps 2-43 by clean-cut boundaries and isoglosses. While many of the LANE maps are so terribly cluttered as to be unreadable, these new maps are delightfully, though boldly, simplified. We must, however, allow for these lines not fully tallying with the corresponding notional maps which show detailed distribution with geometrical symbols (cf. e.g. the *stone boat* isogloss of Figg. 5 b, 7 with the distribution in Fig. 78). The drawing of such

boundary lines is a debatable point; the main thing is: we can see at a glance the focus or core and the boundaries of an area.

The main result of Kurath's *Word Geography* is the discovery that 'there is an extensive Midland speech area that lies between the traditionally recognized "Northern" and "Southern" areas' (p. V), which replaces the old conception of three major American dialects: Eastern, Southern, and so-called 'General American'. Besides his three new major areas Kurath distinguishes altogether 18 sub-areas, clearly set off in Fig. 3. We must refrain from describing them, all the more because their demarcations are not dictated by state boundaries but by rivers, bays, and mountain ranges. A European is grateful for Fig. 1 which shows most of the geographical terms and the names of the cities to which references are made in the descriptions. Most, but not all. A European finds it vexing to come across unexplained *Piedmont*, *Tidewater*; even a map of the Eastern States to him would have meant no offence.

With regard to dynamics the *Word Geography* shows e.g. that the Northern type derived from New England spreads all the way into the Great Lakes Basin, and that a Midland type originating in Pennsylvania has spread southward and is now spoken in much of the territory traditionally considered as Southern. According to Kurath (p. 1) 'there can be no doubting the fact that the major speech areas of the Eastern States coincide in the main with settlement areas and that the most prominent speech boundaries run along the seams of these settlement areas'.

We have no reason to cast doubt upon his various conclusions, but since Kurath's dialectal structure of the Eastern States is likely to be considered the basis and frame for future work, we think it would have enhanced the validity of his findings in this pioneer investigation if he had not based his striking conclusions solely on a (sufficient?) number of lexical key isoglosses, but had shown too that they will stand the test of phonological and morphological criteria. Kurath tells us, quite incidentally (p. 12a), 'Features of pronunciation and of grammar seem to exhibit distributions that resemble the dissemination of words very closely'. Apparently (JEGPh Jan. 51 p. 107) 'Kurath is now at work on a classification of Atlantic Seaboard Dialects according to phonological criteria'.

One other feature is not wholly satisfactory. LANE (cf. Handbook pp. 41-44) makes a special point of registering the various social speech-levels. In this work Kurath again dwells at some length (pp. 7-9) on the three levels: Cultivated, Common, and Folk speech. Nevertheless how exactly this vertical division works out within the historical correlations is not apparent.

Professor Kurath is to be congratulated on his initiative in seizing the opportunity of not only being the man who sowed the seeds for the Atlas, but also being the first to reap the harvest.

In comparison with Kurath's *Word Geography*, McIntosh's *Introduction* is a small book in point of size, but it is no less important, though in an



entirely different way. It may be said to open a new era in English Linguistics in a wider, and in Scottish dialect studies in a narrower, sense. It is a book of principles and marks an auspicious opening of the efforts of the Edinburgh Centre; it heralds the Scottish Linguistic Atlas; it amounts to a discussion of some, if not all, of the fundamental problems that a serious scholar would want to settle for himself before tackling the big task of the Atlas. It is addressed to readers 'whose own special interests are likely to be rather diverse, and the technical problems which arise have therefore been discussed as simply as possible' (Preface). Indeed M. proceeds cautiously, uses simple language, draws telling pictures from ordinary life and stimulating analogies from other fields of science. All the same it seems (to one reviewer at least) that the book would have been better for some more examples, illustrations and references to possible results. For the 'general reader' the discussions tend to be rather theoretical.

The chief merit of the book is its emphasis upon the fact that all dialect study must be purposeful and scientific. Hence M.'s serious and sober scrutiny of the linguistic facts and issues. It feels like a reaction to the traditional dialect work, which was largely done for sentimental or antiquarian reasons. After all, dialect research in England (or Scotland, for that matter) has not, on the whole, advanced much since 1904, when H. C. Wyld in addressing the Yorkshire Dialect Society said: 'We are content to leave our popular dialects to the enthusiast untrained and too often to the faddist and the crank ... First help to produce competent scholars, and you will get work which is really worth having, real contributions to learning. We must therefore first train our dialect students as phoneticians... and then as competent scholars in historical English Grammar.'

In telling his readers what dialect work should be and should not be — terms like inadequate, insufficient, imperfect, inefficient, incomplete etc. abound throughout the book — M. cannot, of course, escape admitting the comprehensiveness of dialect study, the inadequacy of the available techniques and many other difficulties. One would have liked a more encouraging note and some practical suggestions as to how in this vast field enthusiastic laymen (the men addressed) could help by first receiving certain instruction. This omission is all the more surprising since M. believes in the postal questionnaire, which for its usefulness after all depends on the purposeful and discerning cooperation of thousands of non-linguists.

The theme of M.'s considerations may be said to be: find the purpose of your work and then apply the adequate tool and method. This is sound advice indeed, if only in the sphere of linguistic geography (as in any kind of research) deciding in advance were not impossible and you were not forced to change and adapt your means and methods as you go along.

After an introductory chapter dealing with the different approaches to dialect study (e.g. diachronic/synchronic) M. considers in Ch. II the relationship of dialectology to neighbouring disciplines like history, sociology, anthropology, which shows what may be learned from a study of the

modern dialects. Ch. III (Linguistic Investigation of Dialects) is concerned with what is meant by 'regional dialects' and how the linguistic geographer copes with the heterogeneous matter. Ch. IV deals with 'The Phonetic Approach' i.e. the problem of the prototype dialect (and its sound system) and its present-day adulterated form and its many inconsistencies. Ch. V (Word Geography) explains the essentials of distribution studies. Ch. VI (Some Practical Problems) centres on the field worker and his informants. Ch. VII (Conclusion) might be called a hotch-potch. The Appendix is made up of three (far too few) maps showing word distribution in English-speaking Scotland. These are based on replies to the first postal questionnaire.

Precisely what and how much an introduction to a survey of Scottish dialects should contain, is debatable. In view of the complexity of the matter it must surely be left to the discretion of the author to choose the items he prefers. M. has acted most independently. Apart from the Bibliography and a few remarks in the Introduction on lexicographical works on Scottish English, there is scarcely any reference by name to any scholar, school or method. There is no mention even of W. Grant's *Dialect Map of Scotland*. But for his Scottish examples his discussion might apply to any country. That, probably, is the reason why much of the book strikes one as somewhat abstract and suitable rather for students of language than for the general reader.

The consideration of the complexity of the dialectal situation might easily have been more detailed and would have benefited greatly from illustrative examples. The popular term 'broad' occurs once or twice in an equally popular fashion (with inverted commas); an explanation, no doubt, would have appealed to the general reader. A description of the Scottish/Gaelic areas would have been received with much interest. M. expects the Scottish Dialect Survey to serve the ethnographer, but he does not tell us actually how the object will be considered alongside the word.

M. in his book has an axe to grind, specially when he comes to the method of collecting the material. He does not tire of describing the advantages of the postal questionnaire, at least for the lexical and morphological items (ignoring at the same time its drawbacks), and of criticizing in a one-sided way the direct method which he thinks is used in 'a situation unnatural to the informant' and by a field worker too much cramped by rules of procedure. We may leave it to experience to tell which is the better way. Some of us here and in England think that his fears on this latter score are wholly unfounded.

Zürich.

EUGEN DIETH.

*A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England.* By EUGEN DIETH and HAROLD ORTON. Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section, Vol. VI Part IX. Leeds 1952. 605-700. 12s. 6d.

As its title suggests, this questionnaire is designed for use in collecting linguistic material for an English Dialect Atlas. With 74 pages and 1200 questions, it is extremely comprehensive for such a questionnaire. The intention, however, is not that written answers to it should be provided by local correspondents, but that in the hands of experienced and trained fieldworkers it should be used for putting questions orally to suitable informants.

The list is specially constructed for the farming community, since it is there that dialect has been best preserved. For town dialects a shorter questionnaire is being contemplated, in which agricultural questions will be replaced by questions relating to the life of the artisan and by a greater number of syntactical questions. No further explanation is given of why these latter, particularly, should be included in the town questionnaire.

The questions are divided into the following nine books: I The Farm; II Farming; III Animals; IV Nature; V The House and Housekeeping; VI The Human Body; VII Numbers, Time and Weather; VIII Social Activities; IX States, Actions, Relations. These headings are sub-divided into various chapters, in which information is specially sought on the naming of various objects — though there are also questions in the sphere of phonology and grammar in the stricter sense. Grammatical and syntactical questions occur mostly in the last two books; syntactical questions are very rightly small in number, for syntactical features are in general not easily elicited by question.

Interviewing is carried out according to a carefully thought out "technical" method, with a distinction made between five types of questions. The most important group are the *naming questions*, in which the fieldworker indicates pictorially or by pointing the object he wants named. In the *completing question* the informant completes a sentence in which the desired word is missing; translation of whole sentences is avoided. Similarly, there is the *conversion* type of question which seeks to obtain the forms of irregular verbs. The *talking question* invites the informant to give his own account of various subjects — e.g. the different things he makes from milk; this type of question, however, is sparingly used because it demands considerable time and produces data sometimes difficult to correlate. The Standard English word is printed after each of the questions so that in a naming question ('... this?') even the uninitiated knows what it is all about. The fifth type of question is distinct: *reverse questions* ask not for the name of a particular notion, but for the meaning of a particular word. Where necessary, instructions are given to help the fieldworker in his questioning, and in other respects too everything is made as easy as possible for him. The booklet is concluded by an Index of the Standard English



answers, so that it is possible to find out the place and subject of any question.

This comprehensive questionnaire has been compiled with all necessary technical care, and tackles the dialect geography of England with a boldness which will certainly be widely welcomed; it covers a wide field of native vocabulary and general linguistic phenomena. We need hardly say that it is not complete: there remain numerous topics not dealt with which would certainly be relevant to the interests of English village communities, and the possibilities of the headings given appear to be by no means exhausted. This is however bound up with the limited objects which the compilers of the list have set themselves; it is not their intention to have as comprehensive an account as possible of the vocabulary and grammar of a particular speech community, but rather to fasten upon those speech data which previous experience has proved will produce an effective picture on the dialect map. Indeed, even though this questionnaire is designed for use with the direct method with its advantages of greater efficiency and economy of time, the objection might be made that the list is too comprehensive; for, as the Introduction shows, the list is intended to be worked through in its entirety at one sitting. The reader may well wonder whether investigations confined to certain sections of the list only might not, by affording earlier access to the linguistic material, possess an advantage which would counterbalance the disadvantage of having to visit the same place more than once.

The initiative of the compilers will nevertheless be greatly welcomed. They can be assured that the publication of the undoubtedly rich material which their questionnaire will produce will be awaited with great interest (and some patience) not only in England, but also by dialectologists overseas, who will be able to make good use of a dialect atlas of England in solving problems of continental dialect geography.

Groningen.

A. SASSEN.

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*The Mirror of Love, a Reinterpretation of 'The Romance of the Rose'.* By ALAN M. F. GUNN. Texas Tech Press, Lubbock, Texas, 1952. xvi + 592 pp. Price \$5.25.

The author of this work, who is Professor of English at Texas College, conceived some fifteen years ago the plan of re-examining the thirteenth century Old French poem *The Romance of the Rose*, hoping thereby to shed new light on the question of the influence exercised by the French poem on the ideas and poetic art of Chaucer. His material, however, proved so extensive, and the problems to be handled became so weighty, that his study has expanded into a volume of 600 pages, and Chaucer has entirely receded into the background. Thus, although this study retains its importance for our knowledge of the sources used by Chaucer, its

significance is first and foremost in the sphere of the Romanist: with the help of Prof. Gunn's illuminating study, he will undoubtedly be able to gain a better and a more accurate insight into the composition and meaning of the Romance of the Rose, however familiar that poem may be to him.

It is generally known that the poem consists of two parts, the first by Guillaume de Lorris, the second written by Maître Jean Chopinel de Meun forty years after Guillaume's death. The various scholars who have concerned themselves with the Roman de la Rose have all emphasized the great contrasts between the two parts. The work of Guillaume is courtly and aristocratic in spirit; it comprehends a Code of Love which is at the same time an Art of Courtesy; it is written to glorify Woman. Jean de Meun's work, on the other hand, is steeped in the spirit of the bourgeoisie, anti-feminist, full of diatribes against and unedifying tales about women; it is also full of digressions and learned discourses — mostly translated from the Latin — on all imaginable subjects: magnifying-glasses, hallucinations, the problem of free-will, the prescience of God, astrology, the question of the mendicant Orders and their relation to the secular clergy and to the University of Paris, and so on.

In contrast to this the American scholar presents his own interpretation. He points out that Jean de Meun, despite all his digressions, never loses sight of the main thread of the story, and that the digressions themselves harmonize with the whole and serve partly to illuminate the various aspects of love, partly to symbolize the slow process by which the lover comes to maturity, and also to indicate the crookedness of the paths he must often take to realize his goal and pick the rose. To set forth in detail the compelling arguments of the writer<sup>1</sup> is not possible in the present space, but I should like to mention the detailed exposition of what may be called the background of the Romance of the Rose: the conflicting currents of religious thought, the 'double truth', the philosophy of *plenitudo*, the question of man's free-will, the struggle between the secular clergy and the religious Orders, the heresy of the 'Eternal Gospel', and — in literary forms — medieval rhetoric, the *débat* and the *conflictus*. All these are reflected in the work of Maître Jean de Meun who has contrived to use all these things, closely bound up with and subordinate to the dominant subject of love, in the construction of an impressive unity.

Have all the digressions been explained and all the inconsistencies resolved? If we turn again to the French poem we cannot but feel an occasional doubt, despite our admiration for the synthesizing interpretation of the American scholar. A single example will perhaps suffice: Nature says, more or less, in her long confession: 'Man alone, of all Creation, has the power of reason, which was given him by God. Let him then make use of it.' But elsewhere, Maître Jean has the God of Love say this:

(Jean) sera si sages on  
Qu'il n'avra cure de Raison (v. 10571-2)

<sup>1</sup> See my review to appear in *Neophilologus*, July, 1953.  
E. S. XXXIV. 1953.

and even if the witty poet was here gently poking fun at himself, the purport of the whole of the Romance of the Rose 'où l'Art d'Amours est toute enclose' is precisely this, that we should not listen to Reason. No attempt is made to reconcile these contrasting views. It is strange also that Prof. Gunn, who has himself given numerous particulars in footnotes, does not realize that the poet, who piles digression upon digression, would have done well to have thrown a few of the irrelevant ones overboard.

An appendix containing *Figures of Amplification*, a comprehensive bibliography, and two important indexes, altogether 83 pages, complete this excellent book, which bears such witness to its author's wide reading and his ability to think into the spirit of the age and into that of the Old French writers, as to fill the reader — and especially the Romanist — with admiration. The few reservations we have made, and an odd slip such as the somewhat biassed judgement of Chrétien de Troyes in the footnote to page 427 can in no way detract from this feeling.

Groningen.

K. SNEYDERS DE VOGEL.

*Agnus Castus: A Middle English Herbal Reconstructed from Various Manuscripts*, ed. GÖSTA BRODIN. Upsala, 1950. 329 pp.

The modern reader who smiles at Pertelote's advice to Chauntecleer on the subject of the causes and cures of dreams does so, in all probability, because he finds it amusing that a hen should have such a fund of herbal remedies at her beak's end. The medieval man would smile for different reasons: most probably because he had been through the same sort of thing at the hands of his own wife. In a book like the present publication (No. VI in the pleasantly produced *Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature* of the English Institute in the University of Upsala) the student of Chaucer can see the sort of compilation on which Pertelote's knowledge was founded.

The book is a reconstruction of *Agnus Castus* arrived at by conflating part of a Stockholm MS with other versions that exist. The result is a fairly full alphabetically-arranged collection of descriptions of plants, together with their medicinal properties, up to and including the letter S. The compilation cannot be dated with complete certainty, but Brodin gives good reasons for putting the date at 1425, and that is close enough to Chaucer to make the reference to *The Nun's Priest's Tale* a relevant one. But whether Pertelote would actually possess such a herbal may be doubted. It is a technical treatise which would more probably be found on the shelves of the Doctor of Physic; but the *general* nature of its contents would be common knowledge, and it is on this, together with the picture of Pertelote's fussiness, that Chaucer would rely for his laugh.

The editing has been done with a thoroughness which can excite nothing



but admiration. The relation of the compilation to other herbals, the physical characteristics of the Stockholm MS, the language, and all the other considerations which can be taken into account, are carefully set before us by the editor. In fact, the work has been done with such pains that one is assailed by a feeling of regret that they have been lavished on so marginal a work. Is *Agnus Castus* worth such industry, after all? But I write, of course, from the point of view of a student of English literature, and one, moreover, who feels strongly that 'scholarship' has become somewhat out of hand during the past twenty years and more. It is possible that the editor feels that his work has a value in the field of botanical science, and there, needless to say, I am not competent to follow him or judge of his success. But the book is published under the auspices of an institute of *English*, and one may be pardoned the doubt whether it really falls within the province of such a department. For all the editorial competence that has gone into the book, it is not likely to be used by the literary student as more than a work of occasional reference, and a less elaborate apparatus would have served this purpose.

There is one slip of the pen and one plain error on p. 24. When the editor writes: '... the English *Agnus Castus* was translated from the English version' he presumably means *Latin* version. A sentence or two later he writes: 'the abbreviation *dias* was correctly rendered by the translator ...' But this is not so. In the English text printed on p. 21 *dias* (sc. *Diascorides*) is translated 'Thracolidon'. On p. 204 'Spnachia' is presumably a misprint, and not a correct rendering of the MS.

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D. S. BLAND.

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*English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages.* By E. K. CHAMBERS. Oxford History of English Literature. Edited by F. P. WILSON and BONAMY DOBRÉE. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1947. 247 pp. 15 s. net.

The Editor's Note at the beginning of this second volume on 15th century literature explains why the volume is less a history than a collection of extended articles on the medieval drama, the carol and 15th century lyric, popular narrative poetry and the ballad, and Malory; and, though a sense of historical continuity and movement in time is consequently lacking, the pleasure of once again experiencing the impact of a master mind that can combine a marvellously firm grasp of sheer infinite detail and a penetrating power of analysis with a strong, virile style that never for long allows the reader to lose the writer from view is more than an adequate compensation. It goes without saying that we have here a series of studies of facts and problems; aesthetic appreciation, for which the matter in hand allows little scope, is decidedly a secondary consideration, though it might be objected

that e.g. the ballad, which had so powerful an influence during the 18th and 19th centuries on the literature of all Europe, deserved a more extensive and more careful analysis from this point of view than is accorded it here. The 65 pages on the drama cover the whole field from the fading out of all memory of the Roman stage down to the last recorded performance of a miracle play in 1612, placing the specifically English form of the pageant-play as the one type of which extensive specimens have been handed down in correct perspective with the type most prevalent on the Continent, the market-place performance, of which in England almost nothing but records survive. The treatment of individual pieces is here, and indeed throughout the book, a descriptive registration of details with hardly more than a passing reference to the powerful effect the best of these plays can have on an audience, both medieval and modern. Admittedly not being 'literature', these dramas would seem to be adequately discussed only with the performance in mind — a performance in most cases, to be sure, in the imagination of the historian.

The carol and the lyric form a less 'main-travelled road' and Chambers, basing his discussion chiefly on Jeanroy and the French scholars on the one hand and on Greene's large collection on the other, treats the carol as a separate form with particular emphasis. In the wider setting of its historical development from the original dancing-song it becomes clear that Christmas was only one of various seasons for carol-singing and only at a late date became the chief occasion that has given rise to the usage now accepted in the language. The popular narrative poetry of the time is distinct from the lyric, though the distinction is not always easy to make, and leads over to the ballad, which became its most valuable specialised form. Among the earliest ballad material are the stories about Robin Hood already known to Chaucer, while the name of the poetical form was taken over from a French courtly poem originally a dance-song and applied, or misapplied, to songs in general before the printing of broad-side ballads fastened it to the type of popular poem recognised to-day and so difficult of definition. Chambers' masterly review of the discussion from the correspondence of Percy and Shenstone down to Gummere rejects definitely as 'mythical' the folk as creator of ballads, but adds some sceptical question-marks to the formative influence of popular tradition, pointing to the large number of poor pieces alongside the small collection of great ones. His analysis of Child's volumes shows the preponderance of the Scottish contribution to the collection and in that again the predominance of the purely imaginative poems mostly deriving not from the Border but from the sea-coast of Aberdeenshire. Among these 180 ballads are almost all the famous classics of balladry! The transmission of this poetry has been usually through the simple folk of the lower orders of society and in the 15th century the yeoman-minstrel in town and village was probably the chief carrier. But Chambers points out that the themes almost always are connected with aristocratic personages and he suggests, as a parting word, France as the original home of the English ballad.

After Vinaver's researches Malory has naturally become a much more interesting and voluminous figure than he ever was before and the peculiar circumstances of his life while writing his book would warrant the isolated treatment he receives here. Chambers' chapter again is a masterpiece of clarity, conciseness and factual force, with suggestive remarks on Malory's style and the relieving and inimitable personal touch that can bring to life even the most appalling mountain of dusty data. All in all, a better interpreter of this the most unpromising period of English literature could hardly have been found!

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

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*Christopher Marlowe.* By MICHEL POIRIER. Chatto & Windus, London. 1951. 216 pp. 10/6 net.

Another book on Marlowe seems to need some justification when we consider the exhaustive and scholarly studies on the subject published in recent years by Una Ellis-Fermor, Tucker Brooke, Boas, Bakeless, and Kocher. It is just the learned character of these studies, however, which calls for the kind of book Professor Poirier of the Sorbonne has written. On the one hand he primarily addresses not the scholar but the cultivated general reader, on the other he is interested not so much in the circumstances of Marlowe's life and the sources of his plays and poems as in the poet and his work.

This qualification does not mean that his book is deficient in the other respects: on the contrary the mental portrait of Marlowe and the interpretation of his work are based on a solid and thorough knowledge of the investigations carried out by the scholars mentioned above, which is offered in the first chapter on the poet's life and in the introductory sections of the other chapters dealing with sources, dating, and the literary background. These parts impress the reader by their conciseness and lucidity. It is this very quality, however, which leaves some of the statements open to doubt. Thus we are no longer so confident about the atheism or skepticism of Sir Walter Raleigh and his central position in the mythical 'school of night' when we have read E. A. Strathmann's biography of the courier published in 1951. The reader should equally be reminded that Izard, in his study of George Whetstone (1942) pointed out the probable and important influence of that poet's *English Myrror on Tamburlaine*. M. Poirier, after discussing the pros and cons, seems to follow rather his personal impression and desire to find a continuous line of development in Marlowe's plays than the evidence which rests on the publication of the *English Faust Book* in 1592, when he places *Doctor Faustus* as the poet's third drama between *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta* instead of putting it at the end of his career. With respect to this play he accepts the traditional theory that the A text (1604) can claim the strongest authority; however, Greg in his



recent edition of the play (1950) plausibly argues in favour of the B text of 1616. Criticism of this kind which deals with mainly hypothetical matter, does not touch the value of the scholarly parts of M. Poirier's study; it merely suggests that for the detailed discussion of certain problems we have to turn to other authors, whereas his book contains the most concise and up-to-date summaries known to the reviewer.

In the second chapter he deals with 'The Man and his Ideas'. Following the distinguished line of French criticism of English literature represented by Legouis, Delattre, Wolff, etc., he builds his interpretation of his poetical work upon the mental portrait of the poet which he deduces simultaneously from the known facts of his life and from his poetry. This method, though doubtful when applied to a period in which literary tradition still outweighed the expression of the individual, is justified in the case of a poet who embodied not so much the Renaissance spirit in general as its most revolutionary and 'modern' aspect. Marlowe's spiritual physiognomy, however, is explained by M. Poirier less in the terms of philosophy than of psychology. He does not discuss, e.g., the similarity between his mental portrait and that of Giordano Bruno, but starting from the man Marlowe he stresses the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the humble circumstances into which he was born and the rather low company he seems to have kept and, on the other, the lofty aspirations of his mind expressed in the plays:

Marlowe, a plebeian of genius, revolts against fate which showers gifts upon too many ignorant fools. (p. 40.)

Hence his towering egoism 'as his first and last principle', hence also the worldliness of his outlook and the political activity which lead to an untimely and tragic death.

Among his characteristic features the author stresses violence of temperament, cruelty, and paederasty. With respect to the last, doubts are raised in the reader because of the conventionality of the friendship theme in Elizabethan literature and the sonnet tradition in particular. When Edward II subordinates the Queen to Gaveston he merely voices the current opinion about the value of friendship which Shakespeare expressed in *The Two Gentlemen* and in some of his sonnets, although these and other literary parallels do not account for the sensual or unpleasant turn the motif takes in Marlowe's works. This, however, can as well be attributed not to the man's abnormal disposition but to his deliberate effort to shock, to his bend towards caricature, and understood as an attitude of revolt in the field of amatory life.

When M. Poirier calls him 'the earliest and boldest of English rationalists' he is careful to qualify his statement at once by insisting on the emotional and utterly subjective nature of his rationalism; without this qualification we should be at a loss to understand why Marlowe was not a philosopher but a poet. It equally speaks for the soundness of the author's judgment that, having pointed out the skepticism of his religious

thinking, he pays due regard to his wavering attitude and his readiness to submit to conventional morality and belief:

He is neither a real deist... nor a modern free-thinker, but a member of a society still permeated with Christianity, from which he cannot break off completely, however strong his inclination to do so. (p. 69.)

It would lead too far to discuss the wealth of acute and sensitive remarks on the individual works to which the greater part of the book is devoted. These chapters contain more statements about, and criticism of, the work of the poet than the whole body of previous Marlovian studies taken together. A few examples may stand for the rest. M. Poirier notices that the female characters in the plays represent rather symbols of the poet's yearning for the beautiful than real women made to be loved. He rightly insists on the fact that it is usually the 'amour de l'impossible' contained in, and expressed by, the hero's striving that fascinates Marlowe, and not the goal to be attained. This interest, deeply dramatic in its nature, may be looked upon as the *raison d'être* of his activity as a playwright. The author concludes his book with a fine analysis of 'Marlowe the Poet' where he discusses, among other items, the place of the dramatist in the development of English blank verse. He points out that his 'mighty line' should not make us blind to the fact that it was he who introduced into the theatre the 'musical' verse created by Sidney and Spenser.

M. Poirier's criticism is perhaps less valuable when he applies realistic standards to a drama which is not realistic at all, than when he notices, for instance, that the weakness of Marlowe's character-drawing is not so much the result of incapacity as of the fact that, following the main trend of his nature, he focusses his interest on the protagonist's striving to an extent which reduces the minor characters to mere puppets. We should like to get more of this sort of constructive criticism because it helps us to understand Marlowe's positive achievement. Although we are occasionally inclined to think that the critic prefers the lyrical poet to the dramatist — which is of course justified in a way — he is aware that Marlowe's genius, under the possible influence of his disciple Shakespeare, was capable of development and that *Edward II*, qua drama, is superior to the earlier plays. One could even go further and say that the mere fact that he wrote, at probably about the same date, the narrative poem *Hero and Leander* and his chronicle plays indicates that at the end of his short career he succeeded in separating the two genres which were mixed in his earlier work.

M. Poirier's book cannot, and is not meant to, replace the studies of Boas, Bakeless, and Kocher. While supplementing these in various respects, it marks a decisive advance towards an aesthetic evaluation of Marlowe's work, and the author would no doubt be the last to deny that much remains to be done in this field.

*The Augustan Age.* By JOHN BUTT. London: Hutchinson's University Library. 1950. viii + 152 pp. 7/6.

To chronicle and to criticise are distinct and dissimilar tasks: but the historian of literature must excel at both. This dual enterprise is one to which the English critical tradition is, perhaps, less amenable than the French. For English criticism tends (if one may venture a — perhaps rash — generalisation) at its best to be concrete and ethical, and at its best French criticism tends to be abstract and metaphysical. The chief dexterity of the French is to subsume a great number of authors under a single and simple but comprehensive rule; and of the English it is to shew an author's characteristic achievements and limitations by the analysis of representative works. Each method has, of course, as well as its merits its own particular dangers. Having charted the wood, the French critic will sometimes neglect to examine the trees; and the English critic who spends all the day climbing trees may get lost in the wood. Apart, however, from such abuses of the method, it seems clear that the French tradition offers the historian of literature a more immediately useful and appropriate technique.

In this well planned and admirably written survey, Professor Butt has achieved a deft and rather effective compromise between the purposes of history and the English critical method. There has been no attempt to summarize the entire significant tale of English literature within the Augustan Age; nor is the reader to be bored with any cryptic, rapid catalogue of names and dates which furnish information but convey no understanding; more concerned to assist the reader than to exhaust the subject, the author has confined himself to some eight or nine supremely important writers whose achievements are discussed and examined in detail. This has in general been quite admirably done. The works of Dryden, Addison, Swift, Pope, Thomson, Collins, Shenstone, Gray, and Johnson are clearly described, their particular qualities amply and justly displayed and defined by quotations and critical commentary. Moreover, several of the author's critical points have been most deftly made by means of extracts aptly quoted from the less famous Augustans. Thus, for example, in his general chapter on the 18th century, the philistine tincture in the complacent assurance of the Augustan Age is defined and censured in the quoted words of Bishop Berkeley's *Alciphron*. Quotation thus is made to serve two purposes: to state or illustrate some fact in literary history; and to awaken interest in the actual literature of the age by exhibiting attractive sample passages. Not the least of the merits of this book is the skill with which, throughout, abundant use of quotation is made to serve both these purposes.

The two chapters on *Imitation and Original Composition* are perhaps the most accomplished and successful, for the scope, precision, and clarity of the subject and of its treatment. To Dryden (the subject of his first chapter) Professor Butt seems admirably just, both in his praises of the poet and in his account of the man. Particularly good is the concise and generous vindication of Dryden's sincerity in the religious pilgrimage of



his final period. The only criticism one might make is that Dryden's definition of the divergences between the Anglican and the Roman position appears to be taken more seriously *in itself* than, I think, it deserves. It is one thing to believe that Dryden's convictions were honest and honourably come by; it is something quite different to hold that his convictions were all justified: I do not believe that they were. It seems to me that by taking Dryden too seriously as a theologian, Professor Butt (pp. 24-26) does less than justice both to the Anglican and to the Roman views of faith and reason in relation to religion. The word *infallible* is misused, I think, on page 24; the source of the passage from *Absalom and Achitophel* on page 15 is inaccurately given; and there seems to be a misprint in the fourteenth line of the passage from *The Hind and the Panther* reprinted on page 26. The chapter on Swift is an almost perfect introduction. There are also chapters on Addison, Pope, Thomson, Gray, and Johnson.

Groningen.

PETER ALLT.

## Points of Modern English Syntax

### XXV

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, April 1953

67. a. The progressive *to be looking down*, as used in our quotation, differs in at least two respects from *to look down*. In the first place it denotes a state, whereas the simple verb-stem would suggest an activity. What our sentence implies is that whenever Mrs. Dersingham glanced at her, Miss Vereker was already looking down, while *to look down* would mean that every time Miss V. caught Mrs. D. looking at her, she pointedly directed her gaze at the soup. The case shows that the progressive not only affects the aspect of the verb, imparting a durative shade of meaning to it, but that it may occasionally also change its character ('aktionsart'), and thereby its fundamental sense. The character of *to look down* 'to turn one's eyes downwards' is necessarily 'momentaneous', 'aoristic', 'punktuell', or whatever one wants to call it, that of *to be looking down* 'to hold one's eyes directed downwards' obviously 'continuative', 'kursiv' or 'linear'.

But there is another point. It will generally be found that the simple narrative past tenses express the succession of events told by a story, but that the progressive groups suggest some psychological evaluation of the events, a particular light in which the speaker or writer wants us to see them. Let us for a moment discard the word *contrived*, as being only a complicating factor, and ask ourselves what, apart from the difference in 'aktionsart' referred to above, would be the difference between Miss V.

looked down at it and Miss V. was looking down at it. We would no doubt interpret the simple tense as a remark of the author's, meant to bring the story a step forwards. The progressive on the other hand would represent Miss V.'s behaviour as being observed by Mrs. D., and consciously observed, not just fortuitously perceived. It would suggest that Mrs. D. continually glanced at her guest to see how she was enjoying her food, and then had to tell herself in dismay 'Oh, dear, she is looking dubiously at her soup again'. The use of *contrived* makes it clear that this was exactly what the disagreeable Miss V. wanted her hostess to do. The idea that the progressive is often used as a device to express conscious observation or focalization of interest has been put forward by Dr. J. van der Laan in his doctoral thesis *An Enquiry on a Psychological Basis into the Use of the Progressive Form in Late Modern English* (Duym, Gorinchem, Holland, 1922).

b. It is not always apparent where a sub-clause in English begins. Thus sentences like the following might, logically, be analysed as indicated:

She knew me the moment / she saw me  
 We went back the way / we had come  
 I'll let you know as soon / as I can

that is, in such a way that the groups *the moment*, *the way* and *as soon* would be taken to belong to the main clause, and the rest to be sub-clauses. But such an analysis would be logical rather than grammatical; it would hardly do justice to the actual linguistic character of these sentences, and considerations of form and of meaning compel us to reject it. The break that separates the clauses falls before *the moment*, *the way* and *as soon*. Phonetic considerations hence make it necessary to interpret them as group-conjunctions and to analyse the sentences as follows:

She knew me / (the moment) she saw me  
 We went back / (the way) we had come  
 I'll let you know / (as soon as) I can.

This analysis also commends itself to our linguistic sense in being parallel to that we would apply to sentences of comparable meaning: She knew me / directly she saw me; We went back / as we had come; I'll let you know / whenever I can.

Dr. Wood, who takes the opposite view and holds that *Mrs. Dersingham* opens an attributive clause to *every time*, writes:

'Some support is given to this by the fact that many writers and speakers would insert a relative *that* before the lady's name, presumably because they feel that *every time* means *on every occasion*, and then they add the adjective clause to specify the nature of the occasions.'

This view, we think, is based on a misconception as to the function *that* would have in a case like this. The facts, as we see them, are these:

Certain words that in themselves are not conjunctive, such as adverbs and prepositions, can have *that* tagged on to them to indicate that they are used to open a sub-clause.

a. adverbs:

*Now* I feel rested.

I had no money, so I stayed at home.

*How* can you say such a thing?

conjunctive adverb-groups:

*Now that* I feel rested, I suppose I'd better be off again.

I had no money, so *that* I stayed at home.

She read Jesse vividly and knew *how that* he too dwelt in the past. E. Phillpotts, *The Secret Woman*, II, ch. 4, p. 147.

b. prepositions:

The value of the book is *in* its very full bibliography.

No one knows about it, *except* me.

conjunctive preposition-groups:

The book is valuable *in that* it contains a very full bibliography.

— Why can't you do it as well as the others?

— I don't know, *except that* there are many things other people care for which I don't. Hardy, *Return of the Native* III, ch. 2, p. 216.

In older stages of the language this use was more frequent and we meet with *after that*, *by that*, *for that*, *till that*, etc. The reader is begged to observe that it is not just the conjunctive function of these adverbs and prepositions that is marked by *that*, but more particularly their use as subordinating conjunctions. For we even find a case where a coordinating conjunction is changed into a subordinating one by means of this tag. Cf. *He was drunk, but not uproarious* and *He was not so drunk but that he realized the danger he was in*. In colloquial, perhaps somewhat illiterate Dutch, *of* is used in a parallel function: *Ik weet niet waar-of ie woont*. Students of Old English and Gothic will be reminded of the particles *-þe* and *-ei*, which make personal and demonstrative pronouns into anaphoric relatives, i.e. give them a conjunctive function.

If then, to return to our muttons, it is true that we can insert *that* between *every time* and *Mrs. Dersingham*, this in no way justifies the inference that the lady's name opens the sub-clause; it is simply an indication that the noun-group *every time*, in itself naturally not conjunctive in character, is here used to introduce a sub-clause.

68. All correspondents were agreed that *six of us* denotes the whole group of those present, whereas *five of us* means 'five from amongst us'. Such groups with numerals may conveniently be distinguished as 'inclusive' and 'partitive' respectively. Observe that the group is always inclusive when it takes the classifying definite article (*the four of us*) or *all* (*all of them*), and always partitive when the meaning of the leading element makes another interpretation impossible: *any of us*, *some of you*, *one of them*, *none of us*, *most of you*.



Dr. Wood raises a more difficult problem: is there any difference in meaning between appositional groups of the type *we (you, they) all* and the prepositional construction *all of us (you, them)*? He himself supplies the answer, with which, as usual, we are in complete agreement. The appositional type is collective, the prepositional group emphasizes the individual character of the members. The situation, of course, will often allow the use of either construction, but that is not saying that they have the same meaning. Thus a hostess might say 'Do all of you take sugar in your tea?' as well as 'Do you all take sugar in your tea?', but in the former case she thinks of the possibility of varying individual tastes, in the latter she takes her guests *en masse*, possibly because she takes it for granted that all will answer in the affirmative.

The Comments on Points 69 and 70 must be held over till the August number.

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

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### Brief Mention

*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache.* Von FERDINAND HOLTHAUSEN. 3. neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1949. iv + 226 pp. DM. 12.—.

Prof. Holthausen, the Nestor of German 'Anglicists', is to be congratulated on this new edition of his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache*, which is not a reprint of the well-known former edition of 1927, but a thorough revision presenting a twofold aspect: a number of rare or obsolete words have been omitted, on the other hand many new words have been introduced and the etymologies carefully examined. H. declares in his Preface that this dictionary is not intended to rival with larger works, that it is an *etymological* dictionary taking into account first of all the descent of words as to their basic forms and meanings, and that it contains, in the concisest manner possible, the vocabulary of literary and colloquial Standard English.

To give an example I will take words under the letter B. If we compare this new edition with that of 1927 we find among the additions words such as 'bacchanal', 'banderol', 'bash' (beat + dash), 'basic', 'bay-window', 'beach', 'bewilder', 'bilateral', 'bilingual', 'bisection', 'blab', 'blouse', 'blubber', 'bludgeon', 'braggart', 'buy', 'bunny'; among the omissions 'bairn', 'barberry', 'basil', 'belemnite', 'benzoin', 'biceps', 'blessny', 'blewit', 'blite', 'bolide', 'botargo', 'bragget', 'bryony', 'bugloss', 'bullace', 'burin'. These lists clearly show the reviser's intention as expressed in his Preface. It need hardly be said that H. has thoroughly revised the etymologies and availed himself of the results of recent research (esp. concerning 'blends'). Thus we now find e.g. for 'bag' the basic MLatin 'baga' whereas in the former edition OFrench 'bague' appeared as the primary form; 'bash' is given as a blend of 'beat' + 'dash'.

All in all: this handy dictionary by a prominent scholar will remain a most useful tool in the hands of students and teachers.

Bern.

O. FUNKE.

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*The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare.* A Survey of the Foundations of the Text. By W. W. GREG. Second edition. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1951. [vi] + [ix] + [iii]—lv + 210 pp. 12s. 6d.

The first edition of this work, the substance of which dates from 1939, was published in 1942. After the end of the war it soon became unobtainable, which is one, though not the principal reason why the new edition must be welcomed. Largely a photographic — but corrected — reprint of its predecessor it is distinguished from it by a new nine-page preface in which Sir Walter records the modifications in his views caused by a decade of research. His remarks are brief but to the point, thus producing the next thing to a complete revision, which was out of the question.

Perhaps the most important single point dealt with is the recasting of Rule Two, governing the choice of copy-text. The germs for this recasting lay already scattered in the earlier treatment, where it was, however, evident that the writer had not yet penetrated to the heart of the matter: the fundamental distinction between substance and accidents. This is now briefly set forth, Sir Walter having in the meantime published an exhaustive treatment in *Studies in Bibliography* (Virginia), vol. iii, 1950, pp. 19-36 (*The Rationale of Copy-Text*). It would have been welcome if this study could have found a place within the covers of the work under review, but as it is it has the merit of leading the reader to another publication that he would ignore at his peril. — J.G.

*Plays and Poems of THOMAS LOVELL BEDDOES.* Edited with an Introduction by H. W. DONNER. (The Muses' Library) London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1950. lxxxiii + 416 pp. 12/6 net.

The appearance of a well-produced selection of Beddoes' plays and poems by the acknowledged expert, at a moderate price, is a significant event at the present time. The combination of intellect and poetry, Professor Donner acutely observes in his Introduction, was what Beddoes appreciated in the Elizabethans; it is a combination which has a special attraction for poets at the present time. But at the moment a change is taking place in the proportion of the ingredients; the generation which was brought up to admire the Metaphysicals is now growing into middle age and the intellectual component is receding gradually into the background: we seem to be advancing towards a new romanticism. There is no lack of the recurrence of seventeenth century themes among the younger poets, but the treatment of them is now more reminiscent of the Romantics than of the Metaphysicals. At such a moment Beddoes' peculiar strain of baroque romanticism has a special appeal, and perhaps the line which Professor Donner takes as a motto for his selection may even point forwards: 'Like the red outline of beginning Adam'.

The selection includes *The Brides' Tragedy* and the first version of *Death's Jest-Book*, which is here printed in toto for the first time, with the songs and fragments from the revisions appended; *Torricismond* and *The Second Brother* with a selection of other dramatic fragments; and an admirable choice of the poems, including the *Antistraussianischer Gruss* in the form of the second edition. The main weight is laid on Beddoes' dramatic work, which has so far not received as much attention from the public as his poems; this too is significant in view of the increasing interest in the poetic drama at the present time and the popular successes enjoyed by Mr Eliot and Mr Christopher Fry. It is altogether a timely book, and the introduction, which is written with great sensitivity, gives a better picture of T. L. B. than emerges from Professor Donner's meticulous pioneer work of fifteen years ago and is a distinguished addition to the literature on Beddoes; this

can be seen from the instructive ten-page selection of critical comments on Beddoes which follows the introduction, ranging from the first review of *The Brides' Tragedy* in 1823 to Mr Edmund Blunden in 1931; in this Professor Donner as it were sets his own contribution in perspective.

London.

LEONARD FORSTER.

## Books Received

1952

*Samuel Snowden, A Founding Father of Printing in Alexandria.* By C. H. QUENZEL. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. 29 pp. Price \$1.00.

*Hemingway. The Writer as an Artist.* By CARLOS BAKER. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. viii + 322 pp. \$4.50. [See Review, April 1953.]

*William Barnes, Linguist.* By W. D. JACOBS. (University of New Mexico Publications in Language and Literature, Number Nine.) Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press. 87 pp. \$1.00.

*Zur Entstehung des Englischen Participium Praesentis auf -ing.* Von INGERID DAL. Reprinted from Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, Bind XVI. 116 pp.

*The Place-Names of Cumberland.* By A. M. ARMSTRONG, A. MAWER, F. M. STENTON & BRUCE DICKINS. (English Place-Name Society. Volume XXII.) Part III: Introduction, etc. Cambridge: at the University Press. lxxx, 459-565 pp. 18s. net.

*Zinn und Zink. Studien zur abendländischen Wortgeschichte.* Von H. M. FLASDIECK. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. XV + 180 pp. Geh. DM 24.—, geb. DM 27.—.

*The Structure of English. An Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences.* By C. C. FRIES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. ix + 304 pp. \$4.00.

*Englische Grammatik.* Von J. RATH. München: Max Hueber Verlag. xi + 285 pp. Kart. DM 9,80; geb. DM 11,80.

*The English Language.* By E. WEEKLEY. With a Chapter on the History of American English by J. W. CLARK. London: Andre Deutsch. 138 pp. 9s. 6d. net.

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*The Catalogues of Manuscripts & Printed Books of Sir Thomas Phillips.* Their Composition and Distribution. By A. N. L. MUNBY. (Phillips Studies No. 1.) Cambridge University Press. 1951. vii + 40 pp. 10s net.

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*The Year's Work in English Studies*. Vol. XXXI, 1950. Edited for The English Association by F. S. BOAS and B. WHITE. Oxford University Press. 288 pp. 15/- net.

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*Longfellow's 'Golden Legend' and Goethe's 'Faust'*. By C. HAMMER, JR. (Louisiana State University Studies, Humanities Series Number Two.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. \$ 0.50.

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*English Prose Fiction 1661-1700*. By C. C. MISH. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. v + 87 pp. Price \$ 1.00.

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*Die Sprache des Amerikaners*. Eine Einführung in die Hauptunterschiede zwischen amerikanischem und britischem Englisch der Gegenwart. Von HANS GALINSKY. Band II: Wortschatz und Wortbildung — Syntax und Flexion. Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle Verlag. x + 522 pp. DM. 26.—.

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*First Readings in Old English*. With an Introduction, Glossary & Notes. Selected and edited by R. S. ARDERN. Second Edition. Wellington, New Zealand University Press, 1951. Cambridge University Press. 1 + 270 pp. 27s. 6d. net.

*Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer*. Revised throughout by NORMAN DAVIS. Ninth Edition. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 7/6 net.

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*The French Littelton*. By CLAUDIUS HOLYBAND. The Edition of 1609 with an Introduction by M. ST. CLARE BYRNE. Cambridge University Press. xxxii + 220 pp. 18 s. net.

*Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare*. The Clark Lectures, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1951. By F. P. WILSON. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 144 pp. Price 12s. 6d. net.

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*An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Drama 1700—1780*. By F. S. BOAS. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. x + 365 pp. 25 s. net.

*Non-Catholic Writers and Catholic Emancipation*. An Aspect of Sidney Smith, Shelley, Coleridge and Cobbett. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van Hoogleraar in de Engelse Literatuur aan de R. K. Universiteit te Nijmegen op 8 Mei 1953 door T. A. BIRRELL, M. A. (Cantab.). Nijmegen-Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt N.V. 18 pp.

*Ugo Foscolo*. An Italian in Regency England. By E. R. VINCENT. Cambridge University Press, 1953. viii + 255 pp. 25/- net.

*The Savages of America*. A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. By ROY H. PEARCE. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. xv + 252 pp. Price \$ 4.00.

*Glorious Incense*. The Fulfilment of EDGAR ALLAN POE. By HALDEEN BRADY. Washington, D.C.: The Scarecrow Press. 1953. 234 pp. + Index. Price \$ 4.50.

*Der Literarische Mord*. Eine Untersuchung über die englische und amerikanische Detektivliteratur. Von F. WÖLCKER. Nürnberg: Nest Verlag. 348 pp. Kart. DM 9.80; Leinen DM 12.80.

*Forrest Reid*. A Portrait and Study by RUSSELL BURLINGHAM. With an Introduction by Walter de la Mare. London: Faber & Faber. 258 pp. 25/- net.

*An Introduction to Welsh Poetry*. From the Beginnings to the Sixteenth Century. By GWYN WILLIAMS. London: Faber & Faber. xiii + 271 pp. 25/- net.

# From Myth to Martyrdom

## Towards a View of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*

### I

When Dr. E. M. W. Tillyard spoke regretfully of the 'settled ferocity' and 'savage jubilation' shown in *Samson Agonistes*, he was on the track of a just appreciation of its weakness, but his regret was tentative, tinged with surprise and apology:

I have to confess that for all its merits *Samson Agonistes* appeals to me least of the three long poems. I do not know of any single certain reason. All I can do is to make some hesitating suggestions, admitting meanwhile that there may be no explanation to seek beyond a personal lack of susceptibility.<sup>1</sup>

This faltering is unfortunate, for it prevented Dr. Tillyard from expanding a valid intuition into an enquiry as to the causes and nature of the 'settled ferocity,' the presence of which, rather than a few minute defects, is the true reason for his disquiet. A state of ferocity is inseparable from the Samson story since it depends on the exaction of vengeance. And while Milton's choice of material with this controlling factor may be called a fundamental fault, his version reveals considerable emancipation from the fetters of the old tale. It is, in fact, a poem occupying a noble place in a long process. Rich in spiritual insight, it exhausts the possibilities of a story which lacks a mature teaching on the true way of dealing with one's enemies, and renders imperative recourse to a truly Christian subject, as Mr. T. S. Eliot realized in turning to the story of Archbishop Thomas Becket, with its concomitant exposition of martyrdom. The correct procedure for an understanding of Milton's achievement in *Samson Agonistes* is to recall its remote, unpromising origins, to examine its own culminant contribution to an evolutionary ennoblement of the story, and to see that the story has to be discarded in the end before it can be fulfilled. *Samson Agonistes* will thus be placed in the long ascent towards man's interpretation of the related puzzles of the divine mission and the need for a forgiving spirit.

### II<sup>2</sup>

The original Samson is truly most unpromising material for a religious poem. An epic hero of the tribe of Dan, whose adventures, like those of the Babylonian Gilgamesh, whom he resembles, were assimilated in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Milton*, 1946, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> The information in this section on the origins of the Samson story is drawn from *The Samson Saga And Its Place In Comparative Religion*, A. Smythe Palmer, D. D. 1913. E. S. XXXIV. 1953.

familiar manner to ancient solar myths, he found his way into *Judges*, the period being one of religious syncretism of the worship of Jehovah with Canaanitish idolatry. The tribe of Dan establishes the connection between Philistine and Israelite history, for it found an old Canaanite cult firmly established at Beth-Shemesh, 'the House of the Sun,' and the name Samson, Hebrew Shimshon, is derived from *shemesh*, the sun, the termination *-on* being often found in personal names. Similarly, the name of Samson's father, Manoah, means rest, of which the sun was always considered to be born. The significance of the name, Delilah, is best dealt with later.

By briefly considering the main elements of the early story and the character of the protagonist, we can more clearly appreciate the distinctive Miltonic handling of the material.

Solar reminiscences abound. The seven long plaits or tresses of hair represent the rays of the sun, which is regarded as weak when it sets — or when its locks are shorn. The animals or insects — the lion, the bees, the foxes and the ass — are all associated with solar mythology. The suicidal strife suggested by the slaughter of the lion is explained by the succession of the mellower sunlight to the fiercer heat. The honey of the bees is produced in abundance when the sun is in Leo at midsummer. The burning or blighting of the corn by the heat of the sun, who was assumed to be using foxes — fitted by their reddish hue to this incendiary purpose — is here assigned to Samson. The ass is a well-known solar animal<sup>3</sup> and the use of its jawbone may represent the devouring jaws of the sun.

Many characteristics of the solar deity are absorbed by Samson: heroic strength and a judicial faculty (nothing was hidden from the sun's eye); the solitary nature of his exploits (the sun always worked alone); his humour (the sun was fond of gaiety and riddles), and the fits of frenzy, in the Hebrew version attributed to an access of the spirit of Jahveh, but originally an explanation of the fierce and sudden heat of the Assyrian sun.<sup>4</sup>

Among additional parallels are the twelve achievements of Samson, corresponding to twelve of the Babylonian Gilgamesh, and, incidentally, to twelve of Hercules; Samson as a hunter (he captured three hundred foxes); the iteration of the figure 3 in all the numbers, and the drinking from the springs (the sun's thirst was insatiable).

The actual events of the principal story are also significant. Like Omphale, Delilah, whose name, despite possible affinities to weakness or exhaustion, probably stands for night, of which she is doubtless a personification, is a spinner pictured as weaving the delicate web of night over the bright sun. The counterpart of the servitude which the sun's monotonous daily path came to suggest is the binding and drudgery of Samson at the mill. His blindness is the loss of his eye by the sun at night and in

<sup>3</sup> Robert Graves, Translation of Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, Introduction, 1950, pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> For a theoretical connection of such violence with blood sacrifice, as required e.g. by the ophidian Egyptian solar deity, Hathor, see G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, 1919, p. 115.

winter. The gates of Gaza in his earlier exploits, the eastern portals of the morning through which the sun begins his journey, find their western complement in the climax of the story when the sun was conceived as departing between the pillars which upheld the sky — the pillars of the temple of Dagon. When the mighty sun god pulled down these, the sky fell in and darkness came, the crimson sunset being the blood of the sun's slaughtered enemies staining the sky. The death of the sun in winter, bringing the appearance of universal death, was thought to cause even greater slaughter than during the fierce attacks made in life:

So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life. (*Judges xvi, 30.*)

So, although the process of ennoblement which Milton was to consummate is evident in the biblical version, the early Samson is too confused a figure for a religious epic. The original scribes attempted to depict him as a Nazarite to account for his long hair, but he was not pious or ascetic, but uxorious and cruel. They also emphasized his victory over the enemies of Jehovah, but the lack of harmony between the hero's character and the supernatural element persists. This is an assessment of Samson quoted by Smythe Palmer:

A man solemnly consecrated to the Lord, yet leading a revelling and rollicking life; a Nazirite bound to abstain from wine and strong drink, yet allowing a kindred bodily craving to remain unwatched and unsubdued; called to judge Israel and protect them from the Philistines, yet for the most part on friendly terms with those Philistines, and attacking them only in revenge for personal injuries; a man of cranks and jokes, who is sobered into seriousness only by the loss of his liberty and of his eyesight, and who never rises to the heights of patriotism till at his death he deliberately sacrifices his own life in order to weaken the enemies of his country.<sup>5</sup>

There are about thirty centuries between the Hebrew *Samson*, with its echoes of Syrian myth, and the *Samson Agonistes*. And while 'settled ferocity' is obviously inherent in a story, for the choice of which Milton is certainly responsible, he has been shown as availing himself of a tradition (summarized in the next section) of the progressive ennoblement of Samson.<sup>6</sup> The origin of, these accretions to, and Milton's interpretation of the Samson story must be borne in mind as epitomizing the gradual elevation and purification of the nature of divine service by the dedicated individual to a point where the inconsistency of the revenge element with a loving God renders the supersession of the story itself inevitable.

### III

Mr. Krouse traces the elevation of Samson's status during the Christian era to the Pauline doctrine of the *electi*, the word *electus* later becoming synonymous with *sanctus*. He shows that during the Patristic Period

<sup>5</sup> Prof. W. G. Blaikie in *The Thinker*, vol. iv, p. 310: *The Expository Times*, iv, 543.

<sup>6</sup> F. Michael Krouse, *Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition*, 1949.



homiletic and allegorical interpretations of the story began respectively to transfer emphasis to the question of chastity and faith in his election, and to try to establish parallels between Samson and Christ. The aspect of Samson as a saint fallen from grace so important to Milton has already emerged, and is confirmed by the allegorical versions of the Scholastic Period. Milton partly retains the Scholastic indictment of Delilah in this connection. But the most interesting development is the shift of interest to the tragic aspect of the story: 'his fall, his misery in dark captivity, and his death in the stronghold of his foes.'

The portrayal of Samson as a figure of penitence is the chief contribution of the Renaissance tradition. Mr. Krouse summarizes the conceptions of Samson open to Milton as follows:

Samson was remembered by many as a tragic lover; as a man of prodigious strength; as the ruler and liberator of Israel; as a great historical personage whose downfall was caused by the treachery of a woman, and therefore as an example of the perils of passion; as a sinner who repented and was restored to grace; as the original of Hercules; as a consecrated Nazarite; as a saint resplendent in unfailing faith; as an agent of God sustained by the Holy Spirit; and as a figure of Christ.

It is interesting to consider the retention by Milton of many of these elements, and of the events of the old tale, but the most valuable study would be concerned with defining what Milton conceived to be the essential import of Samson's experience. In interpreting this, Milton, conditioned by the revenge motive of the early story, falls short only of an exposition of true martyrdom; which accounts for what Dr. Tillyard calls its 'settled ferocity.' In other respects, however, Milton transforms and ennobles the material of antiquity.

#### IV

Although we have to concede at the outset that Milton's Samson is preparing to serve a vengeful God, the fact is that he is preparing to serve God, and it is an account of this preparation to fulfil the divine mission which is the subject of the poem.

The dashing exploits and even the fatal infatuation, which are the main concern of the biblical narrative, become mere recapitulation, used indeed chiefly to heighten the contrast with his present dejection — to show the extent of his fall — both by the Chorus:

Can this be he,  
That heroic, that renown'd,  
Irresistible Samson?

and by Manoa:

O miserable change! Is this the man,  
That invincible Samson?

This change of emphasis and concentration on that period of Samson's life between the lowest and ultimate highest points foreshadow a complete

re-interpretation of the Samson story. Milton's new theme is the purification by suffering of Samson's soul, followed by a re-examination of the conditions of holy service, so that he may become an instrument fit for God's purpose. The vestigial savagery of Samson's conception of that purpose does not lessen the exalted nature of the preparational process conceived by Milton. Before attempting any detailed enquiry, I should like, by a brief summary of the drama, to indicate the completeness of Milton's departure from the old version, and, in his candid admission that Samson sinned, from that most unsatisfactory aspect of the whole Samson tradition, the proneness of many exegetists to exonerate him.

The drama traces Samson's reinstatement as God's specially chosen servant — the divine intention receives constant allusion. But after a fall from grace, Samson has to re-discover the basis of such service. This requires true repentance, which also involves acceptance of blame. Once Samson has seen the events leading to his downfall, not as cruel treatment inflicted upon him, but as his betrayal of God, he has accepted blame. Having cleansed himself by such an acceptance and by great physical and spiritual tribulation, he has then to prove that his amenability to God's will is perfect. This he performs by rejecting the temptations offered by Dalila and Manoa. He shows his increased confidence in his readmission into the unspoken counsels of God during his conversation with Harapha, and consummates the course of rehabilitation, of complete and trustful self-sacrifice to God's design in his calm, dignified statement:

The last of me or no I cannot warrant —

a renunciation of all personal claims before he proceeds to his final act of obeisance and destruction.

Such is the inner argument of the action, virtually a new creation; setting its seal so conclusively upon the whole evolutionary process as to be far remote from the old narrative. The much-discussed adoption of the Greek dramatic form seems primarily significant to me as a factor decisive in enabling Milton to concentrate upon the period of spiritual regeneration — the principal concern of the poem — and to render other events relative to it.

So that, although Milton has to retain the primitive conception of the divine nature as vengeful, the concentration on purgation and dedication is instinct with much maturer findings of faith and doctrine. Before dealing with the incorporation of these in the drama, I should like to point out that the very change of emphasis on some of the incidents retained also helps Milton's clarification of the issue of spiritual regeneration.

There is, for example, the insistence upon the divine augury of his birth (lines 23-32; Manoa, lines 356-363); Samson refers to his strength as 'Heaven-gifted;' and realizes to the full his divine duty:

Promise was that I  
Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver.

Nor do his deeds seem quite so capricious and random. He explains his plans in marrying Dalila. He refutes the accusation levelled by the Chorus in lines 237-240 that his efforts have been fruitless, laying the blame on the lack of unity and support. The question of his Nazarite vows receives additional emphasis, his continence being mentioned in two passages (lines 315-321 and 541-551). He does not meet Dalila's entreaties in the same spirit as in *Judges*, where he seems to be enjoying an exhilarating, reckless battle of wit and wills, but, without any air of extenuating his fault, gives the impression of a desperate spiritual crisis:

Yet the fourth time, when mustering all her wiles,  
With blandish'd parleys, feminine assaults,  
Tongue-batteries, she surceased not day nor night  
To storm me over-watch'd, and wearied out.

But of even more importance than such adjustments as these is Milton's exposition of the process of regeneration and dedication. The issues involved must not be treated as intellectual concepts, but as momentous preoccupations of the poet's spiritual energies.

The first of these issues is that of atonement. It is not a theological abstraction, but an actual experience, a transaction of the soul. Samson is specifically faced with a most important fallacy propounded by Manoa:

Repent the sin, but if the punishment  
Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids —

repentance without atonement.

Milton states not only the necessity for, but the nature of, atonement, which means several actual facts of experience felt in one's own pain. The first is physical, with the pain of his enslaved body and the loss of the precious gift of sight: it is not enough to celebrate the passage beginning

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon

merely as words, but to enter into the genuine agony of which they are offered as a verbal equivalent. The second is bitter shame:

Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool  
In every street?

expresses perfectly the sting of disgrace. The third is the defilement attendant on his capitulation to the blandishments of Dalila, conveyed by his obsessional recurrence to it, and there is besides the degradation of his servitude.

These shames then pass into the very recesses of Samson's being:

My griefs not only pain me  
As a lingering disease,  
But, finding no redress, ferment and rage;  
Nor less than wounds immedicable  
Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,  
To black mortification.

Milton's rendering of this grief, the awful outpouring of a soul in great distress, is intensified with a sense of the irremediable:

Dire inflammation which no cooling herb  
Or medicinal liquor can assuage  
Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.

But the most tragic element of suffering involved in atonement, and included in the same section, is the

sense of Heaven's desertion.

This isolation of the individual from the source of grace could not be more simply and feelingly expressed than by the image of childhood care:

I was his nursling once and choice delight,  
His destined from the womb.

It is this awful removal from the perfect intimacy with God, the Father, that brings the soul to that opposite pole of necessary anguish:

Nor am I in the lists of them that hope.

For after the departure of hope there is no greater misery. The long section by the Chorus, beginning at line 667, is an enlargement of the terrible enigma of this schism between God and men apparently dedicated to him.

But atonement is even more than suffering. It demands an apprehension of the true nature of sin, and of what ought to be the cause of suffering to the servant of God. Samson does not begin with this apprehension. His early acknowledgement of culpability:

Whom have I to complain of but myself?

repeated to Manoa (lines 373-376) is merely rudimentary, for his greatest concern at this stage is his blindness:

O loss of sight, of thee I most complain.

But that which causes him sorrow later is the realization that he has betrayed God (lines 448-459). He recognizes that true slavery and true blindness are a flaw in the spirit, and that the lamentable thing and the crucial moment are the perpetration of the sin, not the punishment for it:

The base degree to which I now am fall'n,  
These rags, this grinding, is not yet so base  
As was my former servitude, ignoble,  
Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,  
True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,  
That saw not how degenerately I served.



This complete atonement — composed of the full compass of suffering and an understanding of the nature of sin — prepares Samson for the next stage in his regeneration. He has to overcome the temptation which originally overwhelmed him and to reject the alternative offered by Manoa. And it is during and after this phase that we witness Samson's obvious release from his purgatory, not only in the mounting spirits evinced in the exchange with Harapha, but chiefly in his power to discern important ethical and spiritual distinctions — an exercise outside the range of the biblical Samson. During the interview with Dalila, for instance, he defines that evil which exploits a forgiving spirit by simulating penitence, deceiving those

With goodness principled not to reject  
The penitent, but ever to forgive.

This unwillingness to be deceived must not be confused with unwillingness to forgive. After Dalila's departure he rightly discriminates for the Chorus between 'love-quarrels' and

wedlock-treachery endangering life.

In the discussion, too, about the betrayal of God by serving His enemies, he distinguishes between 'idol-worship' and secular subjection to those who have him 'in their civil power.'

Having already realized that the struggle is between God and Dagon (lines 467-471), and having purified his soul by full atonement, Samson is ready to disregard alternatives and to yield himself unreservedly to the execution of God's design; which he does with an almost casual dismissal of his own importance:

The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

There are two other factors in Milton's treatment of the Samson story which assist his delineation of the conditions and nature of perfect obedience to the divine will. But I must first dismiss one pseudo-factor, pseudo since it is guilty of this same misconception of God's nature: that as the Philistines are utterly unregenerate — *vide* their revels, malice and impiety (lines 1669-1686) — no course other than their extermination is open to the champion of God. The first of the genuine factors is the poetic exoneration — the lovely, peaceful requiem of the final speeches of Manoa and the Chorus, which certainly helps to alleviate the ferocity of the awful gesture of annihilation. The second is the function of Manoa in the drama: that of representing the characteristic human misunderstanding of the nature of dedication: Manoa assumes that God's will is happiness for himself and Samson; yet he does attain to an understanding in the end:

Nothing is here for tears.

And this fact of Manoa's reconciliation to the ostensibly merciless divine

exaction rounds off Milton's exposition of the sacrificial nature of the service of God, his crowning of the Samson story.

To transcend the limitations inherent in the vengeful ending and to see the spirit of dedication truly illuminated, we have to turn to a maturer reading of God's intention, such a one as is, I think, contained in *Murder in the Cathedral*, with its central figure a Christian martyr, and its exposition of martyrdom as a vast pattern of events involving the participation of all mankind.

## V

That *Murder in the Cathedral* may justly be considered a treatment of this theme is suggested by Becket's reply to the Third Tempter:

To make, then break, this thought has come before,  
The desperate exercise of falling power.  
Samson in Gaza did no more.  
But if I break, I must break myself alone.

T. S. Eliot's task is to show that the Miltonic deposition must be superseded by a new vision of martyrdom.

This new vision manifests itself first with the rejection of the Fourth Tempter's insidious and subtle offer of

Dreams to damnation,

which would have destroyed from within the integrity of the martyr's perfect dedication, composed as it is of self-effacement and love, by fixing the eyes of the martyr on the eternal glory attending the saint's name and on the deferred retribution, the eternal damnation, of his foes, thus giving scope to a spirit of pride and vindictiveness contrary to the example of Christian forgiveness which he is attempting to emulate:

Think of pilgrims, standing in line  
Before the glittering jewelled shrine,  
From generation to generation  
Bending the knee in supplication.  
Think of the miracles, by God's grace,  
And think of your enemies, in another place.

A new development is embodied also in the plausible assertion by the Chorus of Tempters that, just as so many of man's preoccupations prove illusory, so lastly will his belief in any final spiritual reality, and that the idea of martyrdom, itself, being merely a human one, will have no more ultimate validity than

The prizes given at the children's party.

After resolving the inward doubts which these Temptations represent,

Thomas is able to see the divine will as a harmonious pattern, as a perfect blending between creature and Creator, rather than as two separate, two dissonant entities in an uneasy relationship of superior and inferior, of agent and patient:

I shall no longer act or suffer;

and can now preach upon the true nature of martyrdom, a state of mingled election and dedication mediating between a forgiving God and erring mankind:

A martyrdom is always the design of God, for His love of men, to warn them and to lead them, to bring them back to His Ways. It is never the design of man; for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of being a martyr.

The idea of martyrdom requires the further illumination of the realization by mankind that the saint's death is the culmination and epitome of, and the way of release from their sin, the sin of humanity. This illumination proceeds from the evolutionary attitude of the Chorus, which stand not only for 'the poor women of Canterbury,' but for all humanity.

At first, the Chorus of Humanity look with distrust upon the returned Archbishop and try to dissociate themselves from the act of spiritual and historical significance, of which they have a vague foreboding:

For us, the poor, there is no action.

This is the eternal claim of irresponsibility at the historical crux made by common humanity, which does not see until too late the connection between

every evil, every sacrilege,  
Crime, wrong, oppression and the axe's edge

and the fatal upheavals in the world. The next attitude of the Chorus is one of antagonism:

O Thomas, Archbishop, leave us, leave us.

But they gradually relinquish their demand for detachment from the great sweep of history and the relative happiness immunity would confer on them: they discern

extortion and violence,  
Destitution, disease

and many other evils which defile their lives, and are uneasy to be merely

Living and partly living.

The Chorus must then experience the hell of contrarieties: between appearance and essence:

Corruption in the dish, incense in the latrine,

and the reversion in its evil of proud mankind

To the horror of the ape

before they become aware that the entire universe, in its widest bounds and most intimate recesses, is pervaded by sin:

Clear the air! clean the sky! wash the wind!  
 take the stone from the stone, take the skin  
 from the arm, take the muscle from the bone,  
 and wash them.

They are able, after this, to identify themselves with the perfect martyr, who herein is seen to triumph, and to pray for forgiveness:

We acknowledge our trespass, our weakness, our fault;  
 we acknowledge  
 That the sin of the world is upon our heads; that the  
 blood of the martyrs and the agony of the saints  
 Is upon our heads.  
 Lord, have mercy upon us.

The attempts of the Knights to promulgate a misinterpretation of Becket's action as 'Suicide while of Unsound Mind' have already been ridiculed, so that we have at last an unequivocal and unblemished statement of the divine nature working through men imbued with a perfect spirit of sacrifice and forgiveness to the glory of God and the redemption of mankind.

The long transit from myth to martyrdom, with *Samson Agonistes* holding no mean place, is finished.

Cheltenham.

KENNETH FELL.

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## The Date of Wordsworth's 'The King of Sweden'

To Wordsworth, his Revolutionary enthusiasms waning as the star of Napoleon rose, young Gustavus IV of Sweden, the Emperor's quixotic antagonist, became the subject of an admiration which found expression in two sonnets among the 'Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty.'<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to dwell here on the irony of the poet's praise for this Swedish monarch who, far from being the 'rightful son' of heroes or the indomitable defender of political morality on the continent of Europe, was actually little more than the phrenetic champion of his own ego. My concern is with the date of the first sonnet — 'The King of Sweden' — and I should like to establish the fact that Wordsworth composed the poem at least two years later than his editors have commonly supposed.

In the latest and most authoritative collection of Wordsworth's poems, Miss Darbishire observes that the poet 'probably' composed the sonnet in August, 1802,<sup>2</sup> a date first proposed by Knight in 1886<sup>3</sup> and accepted subsequently by Morley, Dowden, Hutchinson, George, and de Selincourt. The reason for assigning the poem to this year is understandable, if not conclusive: in the 1807 edition of *Poems in Two Volumes*, where it first appeared, it was placed with two other undated sonnets between 'Calais,' composed on August 15, 1802, and Sonnet IX, composed on September 1, 1802.<sup>4</sup> Since Wordsworth himself obviously arranged the order of these collected poems, Knight and the others have assumed, not without logic, that 'The King of Sweden' occupied its proper chronological place.

My own conviction is that Wordsworth composed the poem after this date and that when he published the 1807 volumes he placed it among the earlier sonnets either inadvertently or for sequential rather than chronological reasons. The internal evidence of the sonnet seems to make this clear.

### THE KING OF SWEDEN

The Voice of Song from distant lands shall call  
To that great King; shall hail the crowned Youth  
Who, taking counsel of unbending Truth,  
By one example hath set forth to all  
How they with dignity may stand; or fall,  
If fall they must. Now, whither doth it tend?  
And what to him and his shall be the end?  
That thought is one which neither can appal

<sup>1</sup> *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire (Oxford, 1946), III, 112, 133-134.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, III, 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 7, ed. W. A. Knight, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> See the reprint, verbatim et literatim, of *Poems in Two Volumes* (London, 1913), p. 141.

Nor cheer him; for the illustrious Swede hath done  
 The thing which ought to be: He stands *above*  
 All consequences: work he hath begun  
 Of fortitude, and piety, and love,  
 Which all his glorious Ancestors approve:  
 The Heroes bless him, him their rightful Son.

When Wordsworth wrote this poem, he felt, of course, that Gustavus had done something that required courage and exemplified dignity, that risked all, that raised him *above* any consequences of the deed, and that justified the adjectives 'great' and 'illustrious.' In a subsequent note to the sonnet he wished to be understood 'as a Poet availing himself of the situation which the King of Sweden occupied, and of the principles AVOWED IN HIS MANIFESTOES; as laying hold of these advantages for the purpose of embodying moral truths.'<sup>5</sup> I find nothing involving Gustavus before August, 1802, that could have called forth such an encomium by an English poet or such an explanatory note. Despite his consistently anti-Revolutionary bias, Gustavus had done as much by that time to exasperate the English as to urge them to laudatory poetry. Only an unfavorable wind had prevented him, a little more than a year before, from joining the Danes in their battle against Nelson at Copenhagen; only the haughty indifference of Napoleon had defeated his plan, shortly afterwards, for a rapprochement with France to deter the ambitions of Russia and England. Sweden's relations with England during 1801-1802 were strained: two Swedish convoys lay interned in English harbors, symbols of a political and commercial antagonism. Nor had the Swedish king's Napoleonic phobia — so stimulating to the English during the War of the Third Coalition — gained control as yet over his emotions and manifestoes and earned for him the sobriquet of 'the Eagle of the North.' Late in 1802, indeed, he regretted before the Duke of Gloucester his not having helped to forestall the threat of French imperialism.<sup>6</sup> In short, the facts of Gustavus's career before August, 1802, because they are incompatible with the sentiments of Wordsworth's sonnet, discourage the thesis that he composed the poem at so early a date.

If not then, when? In 1803, the Peace of Amiens broken and Sweden in an intolerable commercial isolation, Gustavus began the drift toward England that ultimately caught him in the currents of war and disaster. He reached an agreement that released his interned convoys, expressed his displeasure at Napoleon's assumption of princely title, openly opposed the French politics in Germany, and began preparing for a role opposite the Emperor in a drama to be called 'No Compromise.' In 1804 he deplored the execution of the Duke of Enghien in strong words and, stung by fury and fear, began a program of aid to refugee French noblemen<sup>7</sup> and a

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, III, 453.

<sup>6</sup> Sten Carlsson, *Gustaf IV Adolf* (Stockholm, 1946), pp. 114-115.

<sup>7</sup> Louis XVIII found asylum in Sweden at this time.

personally conducted anti-Napoleonic campaign among the various German courts. When Napoleon attacked him in *Le Moniteur* for his intrigues, Gustavus responded by breaking off diplomatic relations with France, forbidding the import of French books and magazines, and petulantly decreeing that the Emperor should henceforth be referred to as Monsieur Bonaparte. His instinctive dislike of the anti-royalism of France became now an obsession that consumed his career. In October, 1805, he joined the Third Coalition to remove the 'common nuisance,'<sup>8</sup> a logical step in the development of his recent policies, but one which, although it led to increasing popularity in England, led also to the loss of crown, family, and prestige.<sup>9</sup>

In the light of these facts I should like to suggest late 1804 as the earliest possible date for the sonnet. During 1803, as I have indicated, Gustavus conducted a pro-English foreign policy; generally, however, he gave only restrained expression to his Napoleonic antipathies as he jockeyed for a favorable position in international affairs. To the English he could not yet have appeared worthy of great praise or poetry. But in 1804 his manifestoes became decidedly hostile to France. His notes to the Diet of Ratisbon on the subject of the Duke of Enghien, says Alison, 'breathed an uncommon degree of spirit and independence.'<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, Sweden 'was the only power which was bold enough to make its disapproval felt.'<sup>11</sup> And in the journalistic and diplomatic quarrel that followed, Gustavus revealed that if Sweden was not at war with France, he, at least, was at war with Napoleon: 'His majesty the king of Sweden has received a report of the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which Monsieur Napoleon Buonaparte has allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur* of the 14th of August.'<sup>12</sup> This was a typical sally. The English were delighted. Wordsworth, watching these events from Grasmere as he contemplated the development of his own political ideas for the *Prelude*, might well have written the sonnet at this time out of enthusiasm for England's new and belligerent friend.

Or one can argue that the best approximation of the date of composition would be sometime after Sweden's declaration of war in the fall of 1805. By this time the cumulative effect of the king's anti-Napoleonic activities had made him a well-known figure in England, not undeserving of the

<sup>8</sup> A phrase from his manifesto of October 31, 1805 (*Annual Register*, XLVII [1807], 719).

<sup>9</sup> For the facts of Swedish political history during this period I have relied mainly on Carlsson's biography of Gustavus; Raymond Carr, 'Gustavus IV and the British Government, 1804-9,' *The English Historical Review*, LX (1945), 36-66; René Petiet, *Gustave IV Adolphe et la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1914); and Herbert Lundh, *Gustaf IV Adolf och Sveriges Ulrikespolitik 1801-1804* (Uppsala, 1926).

<sup>10</sup> Archibald Alison, *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons in MDCCCXV* (Edinburgh and London, 1849), VI, 273-274.

<sup>11</sup> Carr, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> From the manifesto of September 7, 1804 (*Annual Register*, XLVI [1806], 697).



adjectives 'great' and 'illustrious'; and Wordsworth had enough journalistic information — much of it slanted, of course — upon which to base his panegyric.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, we can now easily explicate the text of the poem in terms of the king's deeds, a difficult thing to do if we accept August, 1802, as the probable date of the sonnet. Thus, by stubbornly resisting the usurper on moral grounds, Gustavus has become the 'one example' on the continent of unremitting opposition to evil; by opposing France he risks defeat and arouses speculation as to his own and his country's fate; by remaining true to his principles he has done the 'thing which ought to be' and 'stands above' the consequences; and by personally leading his army in the tradition of Charles XII, by defending, in a sense, the religious doctrines of his namesake, Gustavus Adolphus, and by aiding the political refugees of France in the spirit of his Francophile father, Gustavus III, he has begun work of 'fortitude, and piety, and love, / Which all his glorious Ancestors approve.'

Actually, Wordsworth may have written the sonnet even as late as 1807, shortly before its actual publication. In November, 1806, he lamented the demise of the old Holy Roman Empire and its melancholy consequences.

And we are left, or shall be left, alone;  
The last that dares to struggle with the Foe,<sup>14</sup>

Only two allies remained to England at this time, a reluctant Russia and a seemingly impotent Sweden. But Gustavus, however unsubstantial his military challenge to Napoleon, indignantly refused the refuge of terms offered by his enemy. In January, 1807, he contemptuously ordered that 'N. Bonaparte' be denied even the dignity of 'Monsieur.'<sup>15</sup> His adamant stand caused flurries of excitement in England. Perhaps Wordsworth composed his sonnet on the inspiration of this moment. The 'illustrious Swede,' balancing on the brink of catastrophe, must certainly have appeared to him then as the 'one example' of moral righteousness on the continent of Europe. If one accepts this theory, 'The King of Sweden,' with its calm tone of approval, becomes a kind of poetical antidote to 'November, 1806,' the product of a worried, almost distraught pen.

On February 25, 1816, Wordsworth wrote to his friend John Scott, the

<sup>13</sup> A paragraph in the *Annual Register* for 1805 (XLVII [1807], 190) reads like a paraphrase of Wordsworth's poem: 'Nor must the praise due to the king of Sweden, for his steady attachment to the cause of Europe, his determined resistance to the encroachments of Bonaparte, and his personal magnanimity be denied him. Unawed by the increasing power of the ruler of the French nation, he had uniformly, by every means within his reach, resisted the spirit of dictation and lust of universal dominion, which pervaded the conduct of the former upon every occasion. His efforts were however ill seconded by his power; and it was only in concert with the other states of Europe that he could hope effectually to oppose the gigantic strength of the common adversary.'

<sup>14</sup> *Poems in Two Volumes*, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> Carlsson, p. 150.

<sup>16</sup> *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, The Middle Years*, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1937), II, 711.



journalist: 'In verse I celebrated the King of Sweden — he proved I believe a Madman — what matters that — he stood forth at that time as the only Royal Advocate of the only truths by which, if judiciously applied, Europe could be delivered from Bondage. I seized on him as an outstanding object in which to embody certain principles of action which human nature has thousands of times proved herself capable of being governed by.'<sup>18</sup> If this remark applies, as seems logical, to both sonnets on Gustavus, it reinforces my thesis that Wordsworth composed 'The King of Sweden' after August, 1802, and probably no less than two years later. What stimulated Wordsworth to both poems was the king's determination to resist the dictator despite all odds and consequences. Gustavus displayed this determination most obviously in the months and years subsequent to the execution of the Duke of Enghien in March, 1804. I suggest, therefore, that future editors of Wordsworth amend the chronological note to 'The King of Sweden' to read: 'Exact date unknown; probably composed sometime between late 1804 and early 1807.'

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ANDREW HILEN,

## Notes and News

### The Geography of Hygelác's Raid on the Lands of the West Frisians and the Hætt-ware, ca 530 A.D.

The general locale of Hygelác's famous proto-viking raid ca. 530 A.D. on the lands of the West Frisians and the Hætt-ware<sup>1</sup> is commonly described and spoken of as in the Rhine Delta, and so it evidently was; but the picture of the route of the Gautish naval task-force as generally imagined does not appear to be right and in a measure only partly accounts for the conspicuous role played by the Frisians in some close collaboration with

<sup>1</sup> For an outline of this story, almost surely the subject of independent tales in verse, as pieced together from scattered references in *Béowulf*, with supplementary use of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (ca. 575), bk. iii, ch. 3 (ed. Wilh. Arndt, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, I, 1 [Hannover, 1884], 110-11), and the anonymous *Liber Historiae Francorum*, sometimes referred to as *Gesta Francorum* (ca. 735), ch. 19 (ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta*, as above, II [Hannover, 1888], 274, l. 18—275, l. 2), see Raymond Wilson Chambers, *Beowulf: An Introduction* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1932), pp. 2-3, and Frederick Klaeber, *Beowulf*, etc. (3d ed., with 1st and 2d Supplements, Boston, 1950), p. xxxix. The Latin texts are reprinted in Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4, their bibliography and background presented in Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1911), 220-21 and II (Munich, 1923), 799 for Gregory; I, 227-29 for the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. The whole story is discussed by Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 39-55.

the Hætt-ware (Lat. *Att-uarii*, later Lat. *Att-oarii*)<sup>2</sup> and the Franks. The sketch-map 'The Geography of Beowulf' in Klaeber's various editions of the poem (p. [viii]) implies a course along the present north-west German and Dutch coasts and past the various possible entrances into the Zuider Zee, then by Den Helder, Egmond aan Zee, Katwijk aan Zee, the Hook of Holland, and, at the earliest, turning into that outlet of the Waal known as the Haringvliet. Such a route further implies a rowing up the Hollandsche Diep and the Waal past the junction of the latter with the Maas (Meuse), past Nijmegen and at least a little beyond its junction with the Nederrijn, where the undivided Rhine begins; then to some point, perhaps Emmerich, not far from Kleve within the present German border and commonly thought of as the center of the territory of the Hætt-ware, an independent tribe allied with, or somehow dependent on, the Franks.<sup>3</sup> Neither on Klaeber's map nor on a similar sketch-map in Chambers' *Beowulf: An Introduction*, p. 502, is there so much as a suggestion that there could have been any other route for the Gauts to have taken into the territory in question. Much the same impression is to be had from any casual look at a modern map of the area.

This route is, however, for that time unlikely and, if actually taken, implies ignorance of a shorter and for early medieval ships far less hazardous and, indeed, more usual way of reaching the region in question. As one looks at a modern map, the Rhine Delta will at first glance seem to form a triangle with a base extending from the mouth of the Lek (ignoring, of course, the relatively modern Nieuwe Waterweg) west of Rotterdam to some point about 20 m. farther south, where the estuaries of the Schelde begin; its apex will appear to be some 7 m. east of Nijmegen, where the main stream of the Rhine divides into the Nederrijn and the Waal. This area is, however, only a fraction of what is properly to be described as the Rhine Delta, for it leaves altogether out of account the branching of the Nederrijn at Arnhem with its important — and formerly far more important than today — northerly branch, the IJssel. The latter flows past Zutphen, Deventer, and Kampen, and shortly thereafter empties into the Zuider Zee. Farther down-stream the Nederrijn again branches: the Kromme Rijn flows north-west to Utrecht, where it in turn branches with one arm the Vecht, flowing into the Zuider Zee at Muiden, the other, the Oude Rijn, into the North Sea at Katwijk aan Zee beyond Leiden.

From wherever one comes today, Rotterdam must be thought of and truly is the great Rhine port in the Netherlands, but in the early Middle Ages Utrecht or Deventer were the localities by way of which travellers by sea from the North made their way to the Rhine proper and surely thought

<sup>2</sup> See Rudolf Much, art. 'Chattuarii,' in Joh. Hoops, ed., *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, I (Strassburg, 1911-13), 372, with literature; also Friedr. Kauffmann, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, II (Munich, 1923), 122, 298.

<sup>3</sup> Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. xl: 'the Hetware seem to have belonged to the Frankish "sphere of influence"' is probably an essentially true statement.

of those branches (Vecht and IJssel) as parts of the Rhine, as indeed they are.<sup>4</sup> The only approach to the mouth of the Vecht or the IJssel lies through the Zuider Zee and these inland routes are clearly the shortest, saving, as they do, a voyage of some 100 m. along the relatively exposed Dutch coast to the Haringvliet, estuary of the Waal. These routes also permitted ships, once past the mouth of the Weser, to proceed in the lee of the east, middle, and west Frisian islands, beginning with Wangeroog.

Consequently, it is hard to imagine that Hygelac and his task-force took other than the route up the IJssel, at Arnhem up the Nederrijn, then on to its junction with the main stream of the Rhine-Waal at Pannerden to, say, Emmerich on the Rhine — to choose somewhat arbitrarily a convenient point of reference — about 5 or 6 m. from Kleve, supposed center of Hætt-ware territory. It is possible that they rowed from Muiden up the Vecht to Utrecht, then up the Kromme Rijn to Wijk bij Duurstede where the Lek begins its course to the sea, then up to Arnhem, thence as above. But Wijk bij Duurstede, or more properly Duurstede, was the very center of the West Frisian domain and it does not seem likely that the Gauts would have attempted to row right past it.<sup>5</sup>

Proceeding up the IJssel the Gauts would be rowing up-stream through the eastern part of West Frisia, alerting and rousing the country-side and assuring the sending of mounted messengers ahead to warn the Hætt-ware and in turn the Franks. Very likely just something of this sort actually happened. In the course of the fighting up near Emmerich the Hætt-ware evidently received appreciable reinforcements from their Frankish allies (*Húgas* in *Béowulf*). The river route from the Zuider Zee via the IJssel to Emmerich seems to be close to 120 km. or 75 m. and it would be daring to assume more progress than 20-25 miles a day rowing against the current. This would allow ample time for the word to get abroad and for Franks settled to the east and south of the Hætt-ware to send the latter reinforcements. This raid must have been viewed as a thoroughly threatening affair.

One might assume that the return trip followed the same route, but the

<sup>4</sup> On the Muiden-Vecht-Utrecht and Kampen-IJssel-Deventer routes to the main stream of the Rhine as used by Scandinavians of old see Paul Riant, *Expéditions et Pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au Temps des Croisades*, I (Paris, 1865), 81; Arnold Norlind, *Die geographische Entwicklung des Rheindeltas bis um das Jahr 1500*, etc. (Lund, 1912), p. 161. For an account by Nikulás, abbot of the Benedictine foundation at Munkaþverá (Eyjarfjörður, Iceland), of his pilgrimage to Rome ca. 1154, see my papers 'The Iceland Voyage in the *Nibelungenlied*,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XXXIX (1944), 39-40, for the pertinent Icelandic text with English translation and commentary, and for further discussion 'The Pilgrim Diary of Nikulás of Munkaþverá: the Road to Rome,' *Medieval Studies*, VI (Toronto, 1944), 326-27, sketch-map p. 348, translation p. 249 ('Netherlands').

<sup>5</sup> Duurstede was probably, or at least very likely, the site of Finn Folc-wealding's *héah-burg* of *Béowulf*, v. 1127a, and presumably no very great distance from his residence *Finnes burg* or *Finnes hám*; see Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 259. Thus it might have been up this branch of the Rhine that the Danish vessels were frozen in during the winter's sojourn (*winter gýða beléac*, *Béowulf*, v. 1132b).

whole region would by then have been up in arms and have made escape that way all but impossible. It is probably more plausible to think of the escape route as straight down the Rhine and the Waal with their swift currents and out into the North Sea. In any event it is clear that Hygelác did what he thought was the right thing in seeing to it that his was the last ship to clear, that the other ships, including Béowulf's, had got safely away; Hygelác himself evidently postponed leaving for too long, was overtaken and slain.

It is in a way quite idle to speculate about the island on which Hygelác's outsize bones were said in the *Liber Monstrorum* ('A Book about Freaks of Nature') to be on display,<sup>6</sup> but since the body is said in Gregory of Tours to have fallen into the hands of the Franks — not Hætt-ware or Frisians — one might imagine that the island was one of those in the Rhine or, more properly, Waal estuary, say Goeree-Overflakkee, which suffered so severely in the flood-disaster of 1953. The island in question is, after all, said to be where the Rhine pours into the Ocean (*ubi in Oceanum prorumpit*), where *Oceanus* surely means the North Sea (viewed as part of the Atlantic to which *Oceanus* ordinarily applies) and would not likely to be applied to the Zuider Zee in which there are, to be sure, islands.

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### 'The Fox and the Goose'

Within a short space of time the anonymous Middle English poem, 'The Fox and the Goose' (to be found in British Museum MS. Royal 19. B. iv), has twice appeared in print: in Dr Rossell Hope Robbins's edition, *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* and, in a diplomatic transcription, in an article by R. H. Bowers in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* LI, No. 3, 393-4 (July, 1952).

Robbins prints ll. 5-9 as follows<sup>1</sup>:

Whan he cam all in the yarde,  
soore te geys wer-ill a-ferde;  
'I shall macke some of yow lerre,  
or that I goo from the towne!'

and in a footnote he gives the manuscript reading of *yow* (l. 7) as *yowre*. The word following *yowre* in the manuscript is not *lerde*, but *berde*, as

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Monstrorum de Diversis Generibus*, ch. 3, ed. Moritz Haupt, *Maurici Haupti Opuscula*, II (Leipzig, 1876), 223; for variants from the Leiden Ms. see Antoine Thomas, 'Un Manuscrit inutilisé du *Liber Monstrorum*,' *Bulletin DuCange — Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, I (1924), 234, and cp. pp. 244-45; translation and discussion in Whitelock, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-52; see also Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 114-18.

<sup>1</sup> Line references throughout are given for Robbins's edition.



Bowers correctly transcribes it, and here we have the phrase *macke ... yowre berde*, meaning 'deceive, outwit you' (N.E.D. *beard* sb. 1. e.). Bowers cites for comparison Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale*, CT. A 4096: 'Yet can a miller make a clerkes berd', and remarks that although 'Chaucer uses this idiom in the sense of "to delude"' yet in 'The Fox and the Goose' it 'seems to have the sense of "to despoil"'. However the usual meaning is quite suitable in this context too since the fox is indicating that, although the geese may endeavour to escape him by various means, yet he will eventually outwit them.

It may perhaps be felt necessary to interpret the singular *berde* as a plural since it is preceded by *some of*, but it is possible to emend the line thus:

I shall macke some of yow yowre berde,

that is, 'I shall dress your beard for some of you' which preserves the same meaning. The loss of *yow* by scribal error is easily understood and the metre of the poem is not so regular that an extra syllable in the line is impossible. However the use of the singular *berde* is defensible, even though more than one bird is to have its beard dressed, in view of the fact that the phrase is used figuratively. Quotations in N.E.D. suggest that when parts of the body are used in this way, the nouns concerned may be either singular or plural, e.g. 'Let it never be laid unto our nose That Scotchmen made us turn our back' (quoted from 'Floddan field', l. 75: v. N.E.D. *nose* sb. 9. a.).

A later stanza in 'The Fox and the Goose' runs thus:

I haue a wyf, and sche lyeth seke;  
many smale whelppis sche haue to eke —  
many bonys they muste pike  
will they ley a-downe. (ll. 21-4)

With the interpretation of *will* as 'until' by both Robbins and Bowers, the last line of the poem presumably means 'until they lie down to sleep', but *will* may also be interpreted as 'while', and the last line would then mean 'while they are lying down', that is, the whelps need bones to pick to keep them quiet in the lair.

In conclusion it may be remarked that there are certain misreadings in Bowers's transcription, though they are not of great importance (e.g. *vnther* for *wnther*, l. 19) except *len* for *ley*, l. 24. The two editions should be read side by side as one often supplements the other (e.g. in the note to *all be the heye*, l. 13).

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## A Possible Analogue for 'The Cocktail Party'

Tracing the sources and analogues of T. S. Eliot has long been a favorite literary pastime. In the past few years more explorers have joined the game and fairly frequently have discovered parallel passages in Eliot's verse and prose to the works of earlier writers. Thus recently the first fifty lines of Part II of *The Waste Land* have been shown to be indebted to Conrad's short story *The Return*;<sup>1</sup> half a dozen lines in *Gerontion* based on lines in Cardinal Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*, and individual lines in this poem taken from *The Education of Henry Adams* and works by Lancelot Andrewes.<sup>2</sup> Four lines in *Murder in the Cathedral* are repeated from Conan Doyle's *The Musgrave Ritual*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, not every Eliot student knows that six lines at the end of 'East Coker' (beginning 'In order to arrive at what you do not know') are very close to Professor E. Allison Peers' translation of St. John of the Cross:<sup>4</sup>

In order to arrive at that which thou knowest not,  
Thou must go by a way that thou knowest not.  
In order to arrive at that which thou possessest not,  
Thou must go by a way that thou possessest not.  
In order to arrive at that which thou art not,  
Thou must go through that which thou art not.

Eliot is cognizant of this detective trend, and has even scoffed at the critics for their lack of acumen in not discovering the pattern for one of his most discussed works, *The Cocktail Party*. In a recent article he tells that Euripides' *Alcestis* is the prototype.<sup>5</sup> Eliot admits that he had to 'go into detailed explanation' to convince some readers of the resemblances — presumably the similarity between Heracles (who enters the house of Admetus disguised so that his identity as a god will not be revealed) and Dr. Harcourt-Reilly (who is simply at first a 'Stranger').

But this is surely a false clue for the searchers of sources, for there is one much closer, which abounds in exceptionally striking similarities in plot, characterization, and vocabulary. This hitherto unacknowledged source is Charles Williams' novel *Descent into Hell* (London, 1937).

The basic theme of the novel is parallel — the quest of a young woman, Pauline Anstruther, for personal integration, which she achieves by her 'communication' with the spirits of the dead. She is guided in her spiritualism by a successful middle-aged poetic dramatist, Peter Stanhope, who

<sup>1</sup> Robert L. Morris, 'Eliot's "Game of Chess" and Conrad's "The Return",' *Modern Language Notes*, LXV. 422-3.

<sup>2</sup> William van O'Connor, 'Gerontion and the Dream of Gerontius,' *Furioso*, III. 53-6.

<sup>3</sup> Grover Smith, 'T. S. Eliot and Sherlock Holmes,' *Notes and Queries*, CXCI. 431-2. The same point is made by Alan Clutton-Brook, 'T. S. Eliot and Conan Doyle,' *The Times Literary Supplement*, January 19, 1951, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> E. Allison Peers, *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross* (London, 1934), I. 63.

<sup>5</sup> 'Poetry and Drama,' *The Atlantic*, 187, No. 2 (February, 1950), p. 36; later printed as *Poetry and Drama* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

resembles Dr. Harcourt-Reilly. Indeed one description might well serve as a stage direction for Reilly describing the death of Celia: 'His voice became incantation; his hand stretched upward in the air, as if he invoked the motion of the influences, and the hand was magical to her sight' (p. 178). Stanhope prefigures Reilly in another way. At the end of each consultation (generally by telephone), he advises Pauline, 'Go with God' (p. 100) or 'Go in peace' (pp. 163, 214). Reilly advises his clients likewise: 'Go in peace'. Julia appears as an interfering old woman, Lily Sammile, who resides in a graveyard, and apparently knows much about other people's lives (p. 108). The heroine herself, unlike Celia in *The Cocktail Party*, is not martyred, but she identifies herself with her sixteenth-century Protestant ancestor who 'had gone willingly to death, chosen it, insisted on it' (p. 148) in the religious persecutions of Queen Mary. As he was being burnt, 'he gave a loud cry and said: *I have seen the salvation of my God, and so many times till he died...*'

Pauline shuddered, 'It was a terrible thing,' she said. 'How he could shout for joy like that!'

'Salvation,' Mrs. Anstruther said mildly, 'is quite often a terrible thing — a frightening good.' (p. 55.)

Many phrases of *The Cocktail Party* are reminiscent of *Descent into Hell*. Eliot might have written such passages as these, for example: 'But if the past still lives in its present beside our present...' (p. 25) or 'The point of his return was not determined by himself, but by his salvation, by a direction not yet formulated, by the economy of means of the Omnipotence...' (p. 155). Far from explaining anything about the spiritual exercises of his heroine, Williams says: 'She laughed again at the useless attempt to explain' (p. 209). This comment recalls Celia's inability in *The Cocktail Party* to explain her decision to enter an order: 'I don't in the least know what I'm doing / Or why I am doing it', and Harry's inability to explain his experience in *The Family Reunion*: 'But at present, I cannot explain it to anyone: / I do not know the words in which to explain it.'

What is especially notable is the use by Williams and Eliot of the same passage from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (Act I, 190-9) as the key to both works. Reilly quotes the lines beginning

Ere Babylon was dust  
The magus Zoroaster, my dead child,  
Met his own image walking in the garden...

at the climax of *The Cocktail Party*, where he relates how Celia died. These lines in *Descent into Hell* form a frame, and are quoted and discussed on no less than five separate occasions (pp. 19, 47, 65, 93, 167).

Charles Williams is probably better known in England than in the United States or on the continent. Before his death in 1945, he had written seven novels, including *War in Heaven*, *All Hallow's Eve*, and *Shadows of Ecstasy*. For the most part they are 'supernatural thrillers',

combining sensationalism with mysticism. 'When we say "supernatural,"' says the publisher's blurb, 'we mean that Williams had a real experience of the supernatural world to communicate. He had a kind of extended spiritual sense: he was like a man who can perceive shades of colour, or hear tones, beyond the ordinary range.' In addition to these ghost stories, Williams has written a thoughtful interpretation of Dante, *The Figure of Beatrice*.

Williams' works were all first published by the firm of Faber and Faber in London, where Eliot is a director and senior editor; they might therefore be very familiar to him in his professional capacities. *Descent into Hell* is less remote than *Alceste*.

In these close resemblances, the question of plagiarism has never been raised, for has not Eliot said, 'Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal'?<sup>6</sup> But a reader might be pardoned for not knowing whether to regard identical situations, the repeating of words, and similarity of characters as examples of the technique of recall to ensure a Joycean literary third dimension, or of secondhand sensitivity which puts the poet into a library and thus removes him a further step from reality, or simply as the operation of a 'mature' poet.

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## Reviews

*The Place-Names of Cumberland.* By A. M. ARMSTRONG, A. MAWER, F. M. STENTON and BRUCE DICKINS. Part III, Introduction etc. (English Place-Name Society, vol. XXII). Cambridge University Press 1952. 18s.

The third and final volume of the English Place-Name Society's *Place-Names of Cumberland* was published at the end of last year. The volume contains the introductory matter usually placed at the beginning of each county monograph; a full list of elements found in Cumberland place-names with notes on their distribution, and lists of personal names, Old English, Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian, Middle English, Continental, Goidelic, British and Old Welsh, compounded in Cumberland place-names; an Appendix on Romano-British names in Cumberland; and an index.

The Introduction, signed by Professor Dickins, the General Editor, reviews the various elements of Cumberland place-names, and notes the conclusions to be drawn from them on the successive civilizations of the

<sup>6</sup> 'Philip Massinger,' *Selected Essays* (London, 1949), p. 182.



district, Roman, British, Anglian, Scandinavian, and Norman. Among interesting types of place-names mentioned in the introduction are the 'inversion compounds' like Aspatria or Kirkbride, place-names containing Scandinavian inflexional forms like Ennerdale or Waberthwaite (p. xxv), and late place-names in *-by* compounded with Norman pers. names like Harraby or Rickerby. Special sections of the introduction deal with the wards of Cumberland, the Angevin period, and mining and place-names. There is a facsimile of Gospatric's writ, the only Anglo-Saxon document relating to Cumberland, with a careful transliteration, a translation and an analysis of its contents.

The section on the dialect of Cumberland is necessarily brief, but the principal dialectal features illustrated by the names are touched upon. One notes that *brame* 'broom', from MDu *brâme*, hardly belongs under short *a* before nasals, and that some cases of vowel variation (e.g. Kershope, Hazel-spring) may derive from the original forms. Other variations, as *o* for long *a* or *u* for *y*, may be due to scribes from other parts of England.

The list of elements in Cumberland place-names is exhaustive and carefully compiled. The extent of the Scandinavian and Celtic elements is noteworthy, as are also the numerous personal names of Scandinavian, Celtic or Continental origin. The chapter on the distribution of the elements contains some interesting observations, e.g. on *bōtl*, *būð* and *bōþ*. For further notes on the Cumberland volumes reference may be made to the notice of vols. I-II in the April 1952 number of *E. S.*

Lund.

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*The Dialect and Provenance of the Middle English Poem The Owl and the Nightingale. A Linguistic Study.* By BERTIL SUNDBY. (Lund Studies in English, XVIII; Professor Olof Arngart Editor). C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1950. 218 pp. Swedish Crowns 12:—.

The discussion of the dialect and provenance of the ME poem *The Owl and the Nightingale* has hitherto been characterized by a strong inclination to work with two alternatives, Dorset and Surrey, which are suggested by the mention in the poem of Guildford in the latter county and Portisham in the former; and the discussion of the provenance problem has also been intimately linked to the question of authorship. The author of the latest attempt to solve the problems of dialect and provenance treats his subject very fully and on a broad basis. In order to settle the question of dialect, Dr Sundby makes a detailed comparison of the phonology of the poem with an extensive material of personal names and place-names in certain districts, a method which lays a solid foundation for discussion. Sundby

may safely be put down as the first to make a systematic and thorough attempt at solving the dialect problem, and his use of name material is an important methodical improvement.

If, on these points, the author adds something new and fruitful to the debate, he takes, in other respects, a more conventional attitude. In the section called Plan of the Investigation, p. 14 ff., he satisfactorily explains his motives for comparing the language of the poem with the dialects of, in the first place, Dorset and Surrey. But we can hardly follow the author when, on p. 204, he summarizes his conclusions: 'To sum up, there can be little doubt that the basic dialect used by the O & N poet was a variety spoken in western Surrey. None of the linguistic criteria adduced indicate Dorset to the exclusion of a more easterly area.' It would seem that the author has not here sufficiently disengaged himself from the two alternatives, Dorset and Surrey, which dominated the old discussion about the authorship. Sundby's examination tends to show that the dialect of the archetype is more easterly than the Dorset dialect, and this result is valuable enough; but the author goes too far when singling out the western Surrey district from a wider possible area — his phonological criteria, as is natural enough, do not unambiguously point to Surrey as the district where the poet's dialect was spoken. The treatment of OE  $\check{y}$ , *i*-mutation of WGc  $\check{u}$ , might also point to East Hampshire, and Sussex was within the *e*-area; 'the treatment of OE  $\check{eo}$  in O & N suggests a fairly advanced stage of unrounding in the poet's language, which moves the poem to, or beyond, the (eastern) outskirts of the southern  $\check{o}$ -area' (p. 85), but this is not unambiguous. As for the development of OE  $\check{ie}$ , the author lays down that the archetype had *e*, with a sprinkling of *i*- and *u*-forms (p. 91) and remarks (p. 112) that this phonological picture is dissimilar to the Dorset dialect. But to his statement that it is 'what we should expect in a text composed in the transitional-dialect area of western Surrey', he might have added that eastern Hampshire and western Sussex are equally probable districts. The weakness of his argumentation is particularly striking in the chapter on *a/o* before nasals. Speaking of the distribution of OE *ang/ong* in Dorset and Surrey, Sundby states that the form in Dorset is practically only *ang*, but in Surrey normally *ong* (p. 126); and rhymes and spelling in the O & N point to *ong*. He presents material from other counties showing that *ong* was also the normal type in for instance Kent, Sussex, Berkshire, and eastern Hampshire (127-28); yet in his conclusion Surrey is the only district mentioned explicitly (p. 130). Similarly, more emphasis on other possibilities than Surrey would have been desirable in the chapter on OE  $\check{ea}$ . The treatment of *i*-mutated WGc *a* before nasals is ambiguous, and the development of OE  $\check{a}^1$  and  $\check{a}^2$  in the poem is a neutral criterion (p. 144).

The word-geographical criteria seem too vague and uncertain, even as cumulative evidence, to strengthen the author's conclusions as regards the

location of the poem, and Sundby is also well aware of these dangers (p. 163). The Northern and Scandinavian words (164-173) afford the weakest support. We might have agreed with the author that the 'Dorset' words are outnumbered by the 'south-eastern' words, if the localisation of the latter had been more certain; but our knowledge in this respect is too vague, the material too fragmentary. The distribution of *breche*, quite apart from the fact that the authenticity of the word in the poem is a moot point (cp. Atkins's note on l. 14), is not sufficiently known; the same is true of *bunen* and *clute* in the ME period. *Haga, ise*, and *stumpe*, it appears, may with more confidence be located in south-eastern districts, but a less vague localisation does not seem possible. Neither are we convinced by the author's further attempts on p. 204 ff. to decide the matter in favour of Surrey. It is hard to see how the O & N poet's familiarity with the Proverbs of Alfred, probably composed in Sussex, can effectively strengthen the case for Surrey; and the intrinsic evidence adduced by the author on the next pages, though making Dorset a less likely scene of the action, is no really strong reason for believing in a Surrey origin. In brief, most of the criteria employed point vaguely towards the south-east, and it would have been safer if the author had contented himself with regarding the Surrey dialect as representative of this wider area, without going further and narrowing his perspective down to the district referred to. 'Why not in Surrey?', he asks (p. 205), discussing the scene of the action; 'why in Surrey?' is rather the question to which we should have liked to get an answer.

The author's critical analysis of a series of textual puzzles is interesting. It seems doubtful whether *þes* in C 748 can be retained, as the author thinks (p. 27); it does not go very well with *ihere*, and the oral dispute seems rather to favour *hæs*, meaning 'sentence'. Two other forms with excrescent *t* are no strong objection, no more than the fact that *hæs* suggests the later verdict: it is referred to as early as l. 191 ff. The emendation *forleten* : *greten* for *forleten* : *wepen* CJ 987 f., hesitantly suggested on p. 143, is rendered less likely by the fact that *wepen* is the usual word for 'weep', 'wail' in the poem, whereas *greten* is unparalleled. The palaeographical situation, moreover, is not so favourable. The puzzling line *Lat þine tunge habbe spale* (C 258) is discussed in detail on p. 166 f. Contrary to Atkins, who follows OED in deriving *spale* from OE *spala* 'substitute', the author, with Wells and Breier, is inclined to accept the sense 'splint, a cleft stick', and adds: 'I believe, however, that the line strikes the metaphor underlying the Du phrase *den mondt spalcken*, which corresponds to F *tendre la bouche* and Lat *os tendere* (cf. Verwijs & Verdam s.v. *spalken*)'. *Den mondt spalcken*, however, seems to be a surgical term, and it does not correspond to the F and Lat phrases, the expressions referred to being only glosses in the *Thesaurus Theutonice Linguae*, which is quoted in V. & V. The owl says to the nightingale: *þu hauest to monie tale*; and 'let thy tongue have a rest' seems the natural antithetic continuation, corresponding to *bo nu stille* and *lat me speke* l. 261, and preferable to the somewhat far-fetched

recommendation to have the tongue 'splinted'. One also hesitates to accept the author's defence for *strind* C 242 (p. 167 ff), which word seems also accepted by Atkins. An alliterative group *sichst* or *stareblind* — *strind* is of a more accidental character than the alliterative patterns adduced on p. 168, which are more intimately associated in meaning; and the interpretation 'Your weak eyes are not even able to see a lake or a stream (twinkling in the sun)' implies reading something into the text which is not there, an operation which is not necessary if we read *rind* — 'thou seest neither bough nor bark' — and regard *strind*, in the way proposed by Atkins, as a case of erroneous repetition of *st* in *stare*.<sup>1</sup>

Objections easily tend to take up too much space at the cost of positive criticism. The task with which Sundby is faced leaves nothing to be desired in the way of arduousness, and none of the results at which he arrives is easily obtained. The strong point of his book is the detailed linguistic discussion; it is close and thorough, and he has command of his extensive material. Many points could be adduced as fine specimens of Sundby's linguistic analysis; I confine myself to mentioning the elegant explanation of the form *wranne* in Hampshire, Dorset, and Devon and the absence of *wranne*-forms in Kent and East Surrey (p. 137). It should be noticed, too, that Sundby's work is not only a valuable contribution to the discussion of what the language of the archetype of O & N was like, but that his investigation into the ME dialects of Dorset and Surrey is in itself an important achievement.

Lund.

CLAES SCHAAR.

*Two Early London Subsidy Rolls.* Edited with an introduction, commentaries, and indices of taxpayers, by EILERT EKWALL. Lund, 1951. xiii + 402 pp. Price Kr. 40.

This work follows and supplements the editor's *Variation in Surnames in Medieval London* and *Early London Personal Names*. It consists of a transcription of two Exchequer K. R. Subsidy Rolls, 144/2 and 144/3, in the P.R.O., for the years 1292 and 1319. The importance of such records as these for the social historian and the linguist is stressed by the editor himself. 'They throw light on the social and economic position of various

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted, incidentally, that the text as we have it in Atkins's edition needs a change of punctuation. In l. 645 ff. we read: *Hit* (my nest) *is broiden al abute*, | *vrom þe neste uor wibute*: | *þarto hi* (my young) *gob to hore node*, | *ac þat þu menest ich hom forbode*. Since in these lines the owl refutes the nightingale's accusation that her brood defile their nest, we do well in putting a semicolon after *abute* and cancelling the colon, reading *vrom þe neste* etc. with the next line: 'Away from the inside of the nest and far outside, thither they go in their need' is to be preferred to Atkins's: 'it is plaited, away from the inside of the nest. And thither they go in their need' etc.



classes of people, the relative economic status of various districts and so on. They are sources of first-rate importance for students of names, not least surnames... They have proved valuable sources for dialect geography.'

The rolls in question are not new discoveries, of course. They have been used before by Unwin and other scholars, but the present edition is to be welcomed because the contents and the matters that arise from them are presented with the accuracy that we associate with the editor's name and the thoroughness that is common to Scandinavian scholars who concern themselves with this branch of English studies. Ekwall's chief aim is to identify the persons listed so far as he can, by drawing on ancillary material — the Calendar of Wills, the Letter Books, and so forth — and to determine their occupations and status. Within limits (and they are wider than one might have expected) he has managed to do this.

The other outstanding feature of the edition is the study made in chapter V of the question of immigration into London both from the provinces and from abroad. The subject is beset with difficulties, but the time span between the two subsidies is conveniently that of a generation, and a comparison of the names in each shows that a considerable immigration took place in this period, and, though this was to be expected, that most immigrants came from the Home Counties and the East Midlands, in that order. But the latter area contributed more than the former to the merchant class, and from this fact Ekwall draws an important conclusion:

Now it is a known fact that the language of London in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was of an East Saxon type, but that in the fourteenth century it changed its character and became in the main an East Midland dialect. It has been suggested that this change was due to an influx into London of people from the East Midlands. In this form the theory is hardly tenable, for the chief immigration into London was from the Home Counties, especially Essex and Herts. But the people who came from these districts were chiefly handicraftsmen and small dealers, only to a small extent of the merchant class. However, the theory may be modified in the following way. The immigration of numerous people belonging to the merchant class from the East Midlands may have influenced the language of the upper stratum of London society and given it a mainly Midland character, and the later Standard English may have grown out of this upper-class London dialect.

Another conclusion the editor comes to is that the population of London about 1300 amounted to something like 40,000, rather than the 30,000 sometimes suggested.

I have mentioned only a selection of the valuable material that emerges from a painstaking piece of work on which both the editor and his publishers are to be congratulated.

Newcastle upon Tyne.

D. S. BLAND.

*Studies on the Accentuation of Polysyllabic Latin, Greek, and Romance Loan-Words in English with special reference to those ending in -able, -ate, -ator, -ible, -ic, -ical and -ize.* By BROR DANIELSSON. (Stockholm Studies in English, III.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell; Oxford: Blackwell; New York: Stechert-Hafner. 1948. xvi + 644 pp. Price Kr. 20.—

These historical studies on the accentuation of polysyllabic loan-words in English are a very thorough and reliable piece of work. They have taken the author about ten years to complete and one can well understand this. Even if he had confined himself to one of the seven endings mentioned in the title it would have been a respectable task. As it is, the work of collecting, sifting and arranging the material must have been formidable, quite apart from the vast amount of material he must have gone through to collect his examples. Accentuation is a difficult question in some languages, such as Russian and Dutch, but it is certainly no less so in English, owing to the contradictory principles underlying it. Nor is it fully settled at present, if it ever will be, and American English shows considerable differences from British English in accentuation. It is the author's great merit to have treated this extremely complicated subject in such an admirable manner.

The work consists of a short General Introduction and three Parts, each of which has an introduction of its own. The introduction to Part I is a valuable piece of work in itself for here the author examines the explanations given by earlier investigators, all of which we shall not discuss here. Suffice it to say that he rightly rejects Jespersen's rhythmic stress, Metzger's Germanic initial stress, Fowler's recessive accent, and the theory of the heavy syllable. But he rightly adduces as important factors the antepenultimate principle in polysyllables and the countertonic principle, which derives from mediaeval Latin, which was pronounced with a secondary accent on the second syllable before the tonal one (*li:bera-lis*). This was also the way in which both Latin and French were pronounced in English schools. This secondary accent became the primary accent in English (Cf. *F. admirable*, *E. a'dmirable*). He also discusses derivative accentuation and the process by which the preponderance of a certain type of accentuation led to terminational accentuation, in which the stress is conditioned by the ending.

This introduction is followed by a discussion of words ending in *-able*, which opens with a survey of the types of accentuation found in these words. The terminology used by the author was adapted from the Greek (oxytone ---', paroxytone ---', proparoxytone -'---, tetartotone -'---, pemptotone -'---, etc.). It seems regrettable that he discarded the plan of adopting the more consistent terminology coined by him (prototone, deuterotone, tritotone, tetartotone, etc.) and mentioned on p. 232. This would have saved the reader the psychic energy required to realize every time anew what exactly is proparoxytone, etc. Next the author examines

verse-stressing as a guide to accentuation, present-day opinions and explanations by other investigators. This is followed by an explanation of the various types of accentuation and the observations of earlier English grammarians and lexicographers. Then follows a chronological survey of the influx and accentuation of the words under discussion from 1200 to the present day and a clear and indispensable summary of the main principles of accentuation and the tendencies which caused the shifting of the stress in so many words. This procedure is rigorously adhered to for all the endings discussed in the work.

Part II contains an alphabetical list of all the words dealt with in the work, with the accentuation as given in early and modern grammarians, orthoepists and dictionaries and the accentuation which can be inferred from metrical works, followed by a chronological list of early and later grammarians, orthoepists and dictionaries, the earliest being John Hart (?—1574), the last Jones, Krapp, Lloyd James, SOD, Wyld, Fowler, Kenyon and Knott. On most of these authors there are biographical notes and from most of their works we find ample quotations bearing on the question in hand.

Part III opens with a survey of the prosodic theories held by successive prosodists, in which the author leans heavily — one is inclined to say rather too heavily — on the categorical opinions of Young. This discussion is indeed necessary in view of the conclusions based by the author on the data derived from metrical works. But even so there is still room for doubt even in the author's mind on the accentual interpretation of many of the quotations in the long alphabetical list of metrical works adduced by him in the next 140 pages. This seems distinctly the most debatable part of the evidence, but even in this case it is often corroborated by the evidence of early orthoepists and in some cases it may be said to be of a cumulative nature.

The bibliography which forms the last section covers no fewer than 38 pages.

It seems worth while to sum up some of the author's conclusions with regard to the accentuation of the various types of words. In the case of words in *-able*, tetartotone accentuation (as in *admirable*) is the original one and to be explained as countertonic accentuation due to French or Latin. Deverbative and denominative accentuation (as in *allowable*, later on also adopted in other words, e.g. *acceptable*) led to the proparoxytone accentuation which is now the chief way of stressing in words of this type.

The paroxytone accentuation of words in *-ate*, which was more usual in the 17th and early 18th centuries than it is now (*con·tem·plate*, *illu·strate*, *compe·nsate*, etc.) was mostly due to Latin (*con·tem·plo*, etc.), but supplanted in most cases by the proparoxytone (*co·nse·crate*) due to countertonic accentuation (*co·nse·cra·tus*). It became terminational from the early 19th century onwards.

The paroxytone also was more usual for words in *-ator* in the 18th

century (*demonstrator*), whereas now terminational tetartotone is the rule (*de-monstrator*).

For words in *-ible* proparoxytone is now the rule (*corru-ptible*) and terminational. It was originally due to L. *corru-ptus* and E. *corru-pt*.

Paroxytone accentuation is now terminational in words in *-ic* and is due to classical influence (as in *analy-tic*), but there are survivals of the early proparoxytone due to derivation from French (*ca-tholic*, *po-litic*) with counter-tonic accentuation.

In words in *-ical* proparoxytone is now the rule (*analo-gical*, *ini-mical*), due to Latin with or without counter-tonic accentuation.

Words in *-ize* as a rule now have proparoxytone accentuation (*ca-nonize*), which seems mostly derivative in origin and became terminational in the 15th century.

It is unavoidable that in a work of this kind there should be some minor omissions. Thus, while the author gives instances of the pronunciation *gladiator* ( \_ \_ \_ ) as recorded by many dictionaries and grammarians round about the year 1800, we missed the quotation from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, IV, CXL: I see before me the Gladiator lie (where the word must have been stressed in this way), among the quotations from Byron's works.

It would be tempting to go a little more deeply into some of the problems suggested by this work or to criticize some of the minor points in it, but this review is already overstepping its limits. There is, however, one question which we cannot refrain from mentioning. On p. 31 the author refers to M. Dominica Legge as belonging to the group of authors who minimize the role of French in post-Conquest England. He should consult her latest book (*Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*) to see that she definitely belongs to the opposite party. That Baugh's estimates, and hence his conclusions, are wrong was pointed out by me in my article on Brunner's *Die Englische Sprache*, I (*Neophilologus*, XXXVI, 121).

We hope the author will accept our apologies for the tardiness of this review, and can only repeat what we said at the outset: an admirable study of an interesting and complicated question.

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

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*The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience.* By JOHN W. DRAPER. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. No date (1950). xiii + 280 pp. \$5.00.

For the last twenty years Professor J. W. Draper, of West Virginia University, has devoted himself to the task of re-examining several of Shakespeare's plays, and many of their dramatis personae, in the light both of the social conditions prevailing in the late 16th and early 17th century and



of the medieval theories — still current then — according to which a man's character was determined at birth by astral influences acting on the humours that were assumed to enter into the composition of all human beings, and shaping their combinations. For this purpose he has equipped himself with an unrivalled knowledge of the works of many, mostly obscure, Elizabethan and Jacobean writers on contemporary manners and psychology. So far he has published, besides a considerable number of articles in learned periodicals of Europe and America, three major works, *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience* (1938), *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters* (1945), and the present volume.

Roughly speaking, Draper's articles fall into two main groups, a larger and a smaller one. In about fifty different papers he has been concerned with showing that the dramatist's conception and presentation of the characters in his plays were wholly conditioned by the notions inherited from the Middle Ages and still almost universally believed in in his time. The book on *The Humors* belongs to this group; it may be said to sum it up. In the few articles of the second group he contends that a very great deal in the plays — far more than is commonly realized — is fully intelligible to those only that possess a thorough knowledge of contemporary manners. Combining his two favourite lines of research, he has attempted all-round studies of *Hamlet*, and now of *Twelfth Night*, in the persuasion that he could help modern readers of Shakespeare to see and understand those plays as their original audiences saw and understood them.

His book on *Twelfth Night* opens on an introductory chapter in which he states once again his ambition and explains his method. This is followed by nine chapters, one for each of the more important characters in the comedy, Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, Maria, Malvolio, Orsino, Viola, Olivia and Feste, and one more for 'Sebastian and the rest'. In two final chapters the plot structure, the characterization, the setting, the style and the theme are dealt with briefly, in that order.

The separate studies of the characters are all planned on practically the same lines: after a discussion of the place and importance of the role, and a survey of what critics have thought of it, comes an examination of the way in which the character is introduced; this is followed by a review of his social status, education and past life, then of his psychological humour and astrological complexion; in the light of all this information, all drawn of course from the text itself, his action in the play is traced in greater or lesser detail. This sameness of treatment in chapter after chapter inevitably results in some monotony. There is also a good deal of repetition mainly due to the fact that the study of each character implies an investigation of his relations to all the others. So that the reader is apt to feel rather weary at times despite the author's pleasantly vivid style.

Draper's method certainly agrees with one of the main trends in modern criticism of Shakespeare, that namely which insists on the advisability of seeing the men and women that crowd his stage as he himself and his audience saw them. But in the present book, as in his other books and all

his articles, Draper follows that method — the historical method — more relentlessly, more ruthlessly than any one else, apparently forgetting altogether that Shakespeare 'was not of an age, but for all time!' And in consequence he often fails to carry conviction. A distinction, however, should be drawn here between his study of the characters in the light of the social conditions and manners of the age and his analyses of their temperaments by means of humours and astrology. He successfully proves the realistic nature of the main plot, of the wooing of Olivia, considered as a young Elizabethan lady of rank left without her natural protectors owing to the death of father and brother, by a neighbouring nobleman, her uncle's protégé and her head-servant. Truly illuminating is his description of her household, of the particular status in it of Sir Toby, Maria, Fabian, Feste and Malvolio. On the whole he makes it highly probable that, in the eyes of Elizabethan spectators, *Twelfth Night* was to a very large extent pure comedy of manners, its realism being emphasized rather than obscured by the addition of a romantic element in the persons of Viola and Sebastian. But when one comes to the pages on the humours one remains unconvinced and even irritated. Draper seems to imagine that Shakespeare, like so many modern novelists obsessed by psycho-analysis, saw his fellow-creatures through contemporary notions of astrology and psychology. Whereas the truth of course is that, endowed as he was with the most unusual gifts of observation and the most uncanny insight, he deciphered them directly, but naturally made use of the common language of the day to speak about them.

The two final chapters of the book are of unequal interest. What Draper has to say of Shakespeare's methods of characterization and varieties of style in the comedy, of its setting, is correct but not particularly striking. His remarks on the plot structure, on the other hand, and on the theme are worthy of careful consideration. He sees in Olivia the true center of *Twelfth Night*, the pivot round which the whole action revolves, and her wooing by three suitors, all set aside in favour of Sebastian, as the main plot, with which are closely connected the two subsidiary plots of the wooing of Sir Toby by Maria and the wooing of Orsino by Viola. That such was Shakespeare's own planning of the play is most likely. But that most critics have been unable to see it so is hardly surprising, for in the actual composition the pre-established plan was, if not ruined, at least obscured and warped by the poet's free creative imagination that gave such life to Viola that, beside her, Olivia, however subtly conceived, seems almost lifeless, and made of the gulling of Malvolio such a triumph of the comic spirit that its brightness blinds us to the main business. Draper is surely right too when he says that, when we feel a play to possess the unity essential to a true work of art, it means that there is a single theme in it. But to discover and formulate that theme is no simple matter. A work of art does not mean the same thing to a simple and a sophisticated, to a superficial and a more profound mind. And when Draper, after rejecting various interpretations, comes to the conclusion that *Twelfth Night* has for its theme the urge towards social security — Olivia, Maria, Viola all wanting

to get married in order to escape the dangers of an unprotected life — he may well be right, but perhaps not on the deeper level.

The book closes on three appendices. The first discusses the date of the play, the reason for its name, and the difficulties of the time-scheme. The second identifies the Messaline from which Viola and Sebastian are twice said to come with the town of Manzolino in Lombardy. The third deals with the speech tempo in the first act. It is one of Draper's favourite ideas that Shakespeare has actually pointed out in his text when the actor's delivery was to be fast and when it was to be slow. On that question he has written a few articles, one of which was published in *English Studies* a few years ago. According to him, slurring made necessary by the metre or shown in spellings and by apostrophes, ellipses, alexandrines which he assumes to have taken the same time for delivery as decasyllabics, all point to a fast speech tempo — their absence to a slow one. And those varieties and changes of speed are significant of the speaker's emotions. The theory is attractive and several of the passages analysed on its basis certainly assume a richer meaning. Nevertheless its soundness is questionable, were it only because the texts on which it operates, as regards spellings and elisions at least, may not be what they were when they left Shakespeare's own workshop.

On the whole and despite its shortcomings, *The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience* does honour to the erudition, the painstaking care, the analytical perspicacity of its author. It abounds in remarks and observations that can only increase our understanding and enjoyment of the delightful comedy. No student of the play should miss it.

Lausanne.

G. A. BONNARD.

*Shakespeare's 'King Lear'*, edited by GEORGE IAN DUTHIE.  
Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1949. 425 pp. 25/— net.

Two early texts exist of *King Lear*: the first is that of the quarto edition published in 1608, which is called the Pied Bull quarto, to distinguish it from the 'N. Butter' one which, although dated 1619 on the title-page, has been ascribed to 1608 by Pollard and Chambers. The other is that of the Folio edition of 1623. A modern edition depends on the authority which the editor attributes to each of them. The opinion prevailing to-day is that, whereas the F text is based on a copy of Q which had been brought into agreement with the play-house manuscript (Chambers and Greg), the Q text was reported and presumably taken down in shorthand during one performance or several performances. Although it cannot be called a 'good' Q, Pollard, Chambers, and Greg agree that it is in many respects far better than the ordinary 'surreptitious' or 'bad' texts.

Duthie, in the introduction to his edition of the play, identifies the copy for F with the prompt-book in use by the King's Men at the time when the



copy for A was being prepared. He is aware of the probability that several sources of corruption may have intervened between Shakespeare's manuscript and this special text in the course of its transmission, namely theatrical cuts (which explain the fact that about 300 lines found in Q are lacking in F) and errors due (1) to the person who made up the prompt-book, (2) to an eventual later transcriber of the original prompt-book, (3) to the person who corrected the Q text to serve as copy for F, (4) to the compositor and proof-reader of the F text.

The third and longest chapter of Duthie's introduction deals with the all-important question of 'the copy for Q'. From an extremely careful and thorough examination of 8 major passages where the Q reading is particularly unsatisfactory when compared with F, he concludes that Q must be the result of memorial transmission. This fact might be accounted for, of course, on the assumption that it was written by a transcriber who, working from a document partly defective or illegible, relied chiefly on his memory. However, a great number of minor passages distributed over the whole play show similar differences, namely additional exclamations, vocatives and connectives; inversions, anticipations and recollections of earlier or later passages, as well as weaker and less effective readings which can only be accounted for by the reporting theory. Duthie, agreeing with Greg and Chambers, dismisses the opinion that they are the result of a revision of the play by Shakespeare himself because, on the one hand, many readings in Q are clumsy or tentative and, on the other, a revision not extending to structural alterations but limited to minute verbal ones is unthinkable with the mature author. The theory of the careless compositor is equally dismissed with the argument that, although he might be responsible for short distance recollections and anticipations, the long range ones on the scale to be noticed in Q could not have occurred to him.

The editor having thus established the nature of the Q text proceeds to examine the means by which it was reported. He breaks new ground by denying that any one of the stenographic systems used at that time — Timothy Bright's 'Characterie' (1588), Peter Bale's 'Brachygraphie' (1590), John Willis' 'Stenographie' (1602) — would have been smooth enough for the purpose. Duthie has strengthened this point since by his short separate study on *Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of King Lear* (Oxford 1950). He equally rejects the theory of the one actor or small group of actors who had taken part in the performance, which is frequently applied to the explanation of 'bad' quartos, because the standard of the reporting of the speeches does not show the variations necessary for this kind of transmission. Duthie thinks that the Q<sub>1</sub> text of *Richard III* as discussed by D. L. Patrick in *The Textual History of 'Richard III'* (1936) offers a parallel: the text was reported memorially by the whole company to a scribe who may have been the prompter. As a reason for this undertaking he suggests a provincial tour of the King's Men in 1605/6, the company having left the prompt-book in London and not having the author's manuscript with them either. When the actors decided to perform *King*



*Lear* they met, and dictated the text in an ad hoc performance to the scribe. Thus Q is an acting version of the original full play and we are not surprised to find a certain number of normal errors of hearing for which the scribe is responsible.

This theory would account for the mislineations which are indeed so persistent and numerous here that the theories of marginal additions in the course of revision and of saving space by printing verse as prose do not convince. Greg suggests that Q was written from a copy entirely without verse-line division which was put in order by the compositor(s). Duthie, however, thinks that the scribe, for the sake of speed, first put down the whole text in prose and indicated the line-divisions later on by bars. His theory works well, though less satisfactorily, when applied to the punctuation of Q which is marked by a surprisingly large number of commas (1534) and an equally strange lack of full-stops (only 11). The scribe may have put down his text without punctuation first and he or the compositor introduced it later on. In this respect, however, the shorthand theory is particularly strong and I think it might be reconsidered from the point of view of the results gained by Duthie: could not the scribe have availed himself of this method? The process of transmission suggests speed; the use of a stenographic system, however cumbersome it may have been, would have been natural and, at the same time, it would help to explain the peculiarity of punctuation. I see no reason why this system should only have been used — if it was used at all in these cases — in 'surreptitious' copies. The Q text would still be regular and legal even if the scribe availed himself (occasionally?) of this method. Duthie's theory gains when it is applied to the stage-directions of Q which are too vague and irregular for a prompt-copy transmission. If we imagine an ad hoc performance of the company this fact may be easily and naturally explained.

It is on the basis of the analysis of the copies for Q and F that the editor builds his text. He deliberately refrains from offering a modernized spelling and in this respect adheres to the F text because he thinks that, whereas the spelling as a whole is not likely to have been conveyed from Shakespeare's manuscript, there is at least a possibility that some of the author's spellings have been preserved in F which, though corrupted by different transmitters, is yet based on the author's text. In building up his text the editor follows not the 'conservative' principle which takes as its basis the authoritative (in this case the F) text alone, but the 'eclectic' one, i.e. he takes into consideration the possibility that in certain cases, owing to the long process of the transmission of the F text, the Q text may be more genuine even where F shows no evidence of corruption. It is of course here where personal judgment enters into his text that Duthie's edition is open to attack. His *King Lear* is not simply a reprint of the F text but keeps a middle course between, on the one hand, G. B. Harrison's in the Penguin Shakespeare (1937) and, on the other, the Cambridge Shakespeare and Ridley's New Temple edition (1935). The introduction ends with a list (pp. 121—196) of the Q readings given by Dover Wilson

in his facsimile reprint of *F Lear*, which have either been rejected or accepted by the present editor.

Duthie modestly acknowledges that his theory of the genesis of the Q text is highly conjectural in many respects, but he insists on its being the only one known to him which accounts for every aspect of the textual problem, and with this statement the reader will agree. His rejection of certain F readings is open to criticism in special cases, but his new edition of *King Lear* represents the most reliable and scholarly text so far, though it does not pretend — which would be absurd — to give us the Shakespearean text, and the highest compliment we can pay the editor for his admirable, lucid and painstaking work is to repeat Greg's judgment<sup>1</sup> that it is 'the first really critical edition of the play based on a full examination of the evidence'.

Heidelberg.

ROBERT FRICKER.

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## Current Literature, 1952

### I. Fiction, Poetry and Drama

The year 1952, like its predecessor, has been a disappointing one so far as original creative writing is concerned. Fiction in particular has proved a barren field, though there are one or two works which redeem it from total sterility; but it is a far cry to the days when the reader could look to a Wells, a Galsworthy, a Bennett, a Walpole, and a host of others only slightly less eminent to provide him between them with several notable works in the course of a year.

*Men Like Shadows*, by Dorothy Charques (Murray, 15/—) is a historical novel in that its background and setting is the third Crusade, but like all the earlier novels of this author it is really a study of character, personality and motive. A work of some length (it runs to almost 350 pages of small, close print), it is told in the first person by the hero, John of Oversley, nine years afterwards, as he lies fever-stricken on his bed and has just heard the news of the death of Richard I, the King whom he strove to serve and to whom his whole loyalty was given. 'I went to King Richard's Holy War and lived through all that came to me in the land of Outremer, which some men call the Holy Land though I do not, and returned.' So he speaks in the opening chapter, and the rest of the book is taken up with a detailed filling-in of that bald outline, in which the memory of places and events returns in all their splendour, mystery, misery and horror, and men come back like shadows through the mists of years; hence the title of

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<sup>1</sup> In MLR 44, 1950.

the book. In a year which has been particularly poor in novels of any note this stands out prominently from amongst the rest. Miss Charques has mastered the secret of bringing to life the strange and the remote, both in place and time, and making them seem real, familiar and living. No doubt the device of using the first person has something to do with it, but it is not all. The author has gone to great trouble to get the local colour right by consulting books of travel, topography and history; and with this she has combined an element of imagination and a sense of human values which give conviction and verisimilitude to her picture. But rich as the book is in outward scene and incident the real story takes place in the minds and feelings of the characters. The emotional range is wide and diverse, often intense, sometimes nostalgic; but the author always keeps it in control. There are many dramatic moments, but never melodramatic; there is sentiment but not sentimentality. Miss Charques has attempted a vast theme with considerable skill and not without a great measure of success.

An even longer book (760 pages) is Storm Jameson's *The Green Man* (Macmillan, 15/—). Miss Jameson is, of course, well known as one of the foremost modern English novelists, but her new book, though pleasant enough to read, fails to reach the level of the best of her work. The central character is a young man, Andrew Daubney; at least he is young and in his third year at Oxford when the story opens but is approaching middle age when it closes, for it covers the period from May 1930 to April 1947. Perhaps the period has not been chosen fortuitously, for Andrew's problem and dilemma is the problem and dilemma of a whole section of society of his generation. The son of a renowned scholar, he soon becomes aware that the fortunes of his father, who has followed and held on to the middle-class traditions that have been his family's for several generations, are rapidly on the decline; meanwhile his uncle Matthew, a professor of economics who, with cynical realism and an eye to the main chance, has forsaken the academic world and turned business man, is becoming exceedingly rich and powerful. Andrew has to make his choice between scholarship and business, and he comes down on the side of business; but in his heart he never really forsakes the values and ideals of the cultured generations which lie behind him. The war and the subsequent death of his father bring to a climax the latent conflict within him, with the result that he renounces the materialist philosophy of success typified by his uncle, and we leave him puzzled and wondering, attempting to work out a new and satisfactory philosophy by which he (and with him mankind) may live and in which they may find peace, happiness and satisfaction.

As we have said, Miss Jameson's book is very long; it is also somewhat discursive and there is no real, closely-knit plot; it is rather a sketch of society over the past twenty years, with the stresses and strains, the doubts and the fears, the ideals and the ambitions all represented and symbolised in the figures of the story. But the style is easy, vigorous and compelling



and the characters are true to life, so that despite its length the book never becomes monotonous and the interest never flags.

Another novel which rises above the general level of mediocrity is Michael Burn's *The Midnight Diary* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 12/6). It is the story of an Austrian woman, Irene by name, who was imprisoned in a concentration camp during the war and then, after her release, settles down in communist Budapest, where she seeks to re-build her life and to work out a philosophy of living. Here again we have, concentrated into the life, experiences and reactions of one individual, the doubts, the fears, the dilemma, the bewilderment and the inmost longings of the entire western world. In her new environment Irene is only too keenly aware, as she was in the concentration camp, of the cruelty, the stupidity, the intolerance and the selfishness of humanity; but she is also aware that beneath it all, and inextricably mixed up with it, is genuine human-kindness and sympathy which show themselves in unexpected ways. So she arrives at the reassuring and confident faith that the heart will finally conquer and that man's inhumanity to man — an age-long phenomenon — will finally be exorcised by the spirit of love, which is the ultimate reality at the heart of the universe. Meanwhile it behoves us to retain our faith in the good, the beautiful and the true, for only by retaining faith in himself and his fellows can man ultimately redeem himself.

The characters are clearly and vividly drawn, with sympathy and imagination, and although we cannot always understand them (do they always understand themselves?) we can believe in them. The dialogue is well sustained and natural and there are excellent descriptive passages. But there does seem a danger of the concentration camp and the communist revolution themes being over-exploited by present-day novelists, as the French Revolution was by those of an earlier generation.

Amongst selections from the works of earlier writers the most notable is *A Choice of Kipling's Prose*, Selected, with an Introductory Essay, by W. Somerset Maugham (Macmillan, 15/—). The only criticism to be levelled against it, and that a minor one, is that it might have been more appropriately named. The title leads us to expect an anthology drawn from the whole of Kipling's prose works, including extracts from the novels, the works of fantasy like *Puck of Pook's Hill*, and his autobiography *Something of Myself*. Actually it is a collection of sixteen short stories chosen by one who is himself a master of that *genre*. They range over a diversity of subjects. Those concerned with India, as one might expect, are well represented, but there are others set in England, whose traditions in the hey-day of her greatness, power and prosperity were so dear to Kipling's heart. It is difficult to know which to commend most, Mr. Maugham's choice of stories or his critical introduction, which, within the limits of some twenty-two pages, is the best brief study of Kipling's prose that we have yet read anywhere. It is concise, discriminating, and very much to the point. Mr Maugham is quite frank about Kipling's limitations.



He points out, for instance, that his knowledge of India was restricted to the north-western provinces; that his sympathy lay almost entirely with the Moslems and that he scarcely ever presented a favourable picture of a Hindu, perhaps because his temperament made it impossible for him to appreciate their gentler and more pacific religious faith as he could the more virile spirit of Islam; that in outlook he remained very largely adolescent and failed to see very deeply beneath the surface of Anglo-Indian life and relationships, believing that white men were white men and 'natives' were 'natives'. He confesses, too, his inability to appreciate the stories in which drunkenness and coarse horse-play figure rather prominently, and suggests that Kipling had in him a certain Rabelaisian streak which he was forced to keep in check from considerations of good taste and decorum. Yet for all this, he stoutly champions Kipling against his detractors and rebuts the charge that he lacked skill and subtlety in the presentation of character. 'He is our greatest story writer,' declares Mr Maugham. 'I can't believe he will ever be equalled. I am sure he will never be excelled.' The stories contained in the present volume go far to substantiate the contention.

From this selection from Kipling it is fitting to turn to Mr Somerset Maugham's own volume *The Vagrant Mood* (Heinemann, 12/6), which contains six rather lengthy essays, the longest of which runs to fifty pages and the shortest to thirty-two. They are as varied in subject-matter as they are in treatment. In 'Augustus Hare' we are introduced to a snob and an egotist of the late nineteenth century whom only Mr Maugham's witty and clever treatment could possibly make interesting. In 'Reflections on a Certain Book' we find a discussion of Kant's *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, and in 'Zurburan' a consideration of a Castilian painter of the seventeenth century who has left a deep impression on the writer. But for most readers of this volume the essays with the widest appeal will probably be those on 'The Decline and Fall of the Detective Story', 'After Reading Burke' (a skilful and penetrating analysis of Burke's prose style) and 'Some Novelists I Have Known', a collection of tabletalk and stray but revealing observations on a number of recent and contemporary writers, some famous and others not so famous. The title of the book indicates the spirit. Mr Maugham writes as brilliantly, as persuasively and as gracefully as ever, and if he is discursive that is all part of his art.

In the survey for 1951 (*E. S.*, June, 1952) mention was made of the Everyman *Essays on Life and Literature* by Robert Lynd. A larger volume, selected from the last twenty-five years of Robert Lynd's work, has now appeared under the title *Books and Authors* (Dent, 16/—). As the title suggests, all the papers are on literary subjects and together constitute a representative and catholic selection from this particular side of Lynd's writings. They are divided into three groups: 'Among the Immortals', in which he discusses nineteen great writers, 'Odd Books, People and Themes', where the subjects are more general, and 'Criticism and Critics', in which certain types of literature and certain aspects of literary theory

find a place. Richard Church contributes a short introduction in which he discusses Lynd's achievement and critical methods, and there are a number of very good illustrations. Altogether this is a most pleasant anthology.

In *The Open Night* (Longmans, 15/-) John Lehmann publishes thirteen essays on writers who have died during his own life-time and who, he feels, have made a marked contribution to literature or have had something vital to say to mankind. They include W. B. Yeats, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Rupert Brooke, Wilfrid Owen, Edward Thomas, Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, James Joyce and Alun Lewis; and there is a preliminary essay on the myth in modern literature. In a sense this is the key to the entire book, for Mr Lehmann's contention is that 'all living creatures that are capable of it crave symbols', and that 'in the silence of the creative religious impulse it is on the poet that the responsibility falls to make a world of true symbols and to find a new myth for mankind to inhabit.' Consequently even when he is dealing with prose writers it is with the poet working in prose that he is really concerned. Each reader will, no doubt, have his own preference amongst these essays. The present writer confesses to a predilection for that on Edward Thomas; but all are suggestive and clear-sighted, penetrating pieces of criticism which deserve to be read with close attention and consideration, as indeed does all that Mr Lehmann writes.

In the field of verse first mention must be made of *Poets of the English Language*, Edited by W. H. Auden and Norman Holmes Pearson (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 5 vols., 15/- per vol.), a large-scale anthology covering the period from the fourteenth century up to the first World War. The distinctive features of this work are first of all its size; secondly the inclusion of many of the lesser known poets; thirdly the fact that it is frequently not the usual 'anthology pieces' that have been selected as representative of the major writers; fourthly the judgement implied on the relative importance of some of these major writers in the space allotted to them (the well known romantic poets and the 'eminent Victorians', for instance, do not loom so large proportionately as they have done in many earlier anthologies); and finally the inclusion of American poets on an equal footing with English, for it is not merely an anthology of English poetry, but, as the title makes clear, of the poets of the English language. There is an introductory essay to each volume, in which the editors examine not only the artistry and technique of the verse in question, but the spirit, attitudes and values behind it, and so relate it to the wider intellectual, philosophical, religious and emotional climate of the age in which it was produced. Altogether this is one of the most ambitious and most important works of the kind that have appeared for many years. No serious student of English literature can afford to be without it and no library will be complete if it does not appear on its shelves.

In his earlier years Louis MacNeice struck one as a rather jaunty, strident,

slick propagandist in verse; the content was all, the form and the medium little; and the content was usually left-wing politics or sociology, or at least a reflection of them. That period, however, he has now left far behind him. *Ten Burnt Offerings* (Faber & Faber, 10/6) strikes quite a different note; yet the poet is still in process of maturing and of finding an effective medium for expressing the new mood and communicating the new perceptions. The place formerly occupied by politics and sociology has been taken by morals, ethics and philosophy; the *saeva indignatio* and the revolutionary optimism of the earlier verses has given way to a thoughtful seriousness and a concern for the spiritual ills of mankind. The idiom, the imagery and the diction have likewise changed; they are more imaginative, more evocative, more controlled and fastidious. Mr. MacNeice has passed the experimental stage and has found his footing; yet he sometimes misses the mark. His ten burnt offerings are ten long poems in which, from several different aspects, he explores the spirit of doubt and bewilderment which besets the modern age, and ponders in his own mind upon the apparent contradiction in the scheme of things.

Courtier with the knife behind the smile, ecclesiastic  
 With the faggots in his eyes, tight-lipped scholar with forbidden  
 Fruit in his back garden, all were conscious in their bowels  
     Of the web and whose it was  
 And beneath it of the void where not old faith nor yet new learning  
     Dare breathe the word Because.

Answers he does not give; he reflects the mood, poses the question, ponders the problem, and if he has not yet quite succeeded in matching the word to the theme with unerring accuracy the ten poems in the present book mark a decided development in that direction. Perhaps Mr MacNeice's full status as a poet is yet to be realised. His development over the next decade will be interesting to watch.

A welcome must be given to *The Collected Poems of Edwin Muir* (Faber & Faber, 15/—). In view of the title it should, however, be explained that this volume does not contain all that Mr Muir has written; there has been a good deal of sifting, especially of the earlier works, but what is left as a result of this process comprises all that the author wishes to preserve, namely the best of the previous volumes together with a number of pieces not hitherto published in book form. The arrangement is roughly chronological, and there is a short introductory essay by J. C. Hall, mainly biographical in nature. Edwin Muir has long been recognised as one of the major English poets of the present day (though by nativity he is actually Scottish, having been born in the Orkneys and lived a good deal of his early life in Glasgow). None of the poems in the present collection is of any great length; indeed it is doubtful whether Mr Muir's talent could successfully adapt itself to the requirements of the long poem. His forte is the brief soliloquy in which, speaking either in his own person or in the character of another, he catches up some aspect of universal truth in the experience of a moment. His is poetry of quiet, crystal-clear discernment



and restrained, disciplined, civilized feeling; but he is not a poet to be taken 'in bulk', if one may be permitted that phrase. His work will best be appreciated if it is read a few poems at a time.

The same applies to *Collected Poems, 1934—1952*, by Dylan Thomas (Dent, 12/6). The *Observer* reviewer was almost certainly guilty of hyperbole when he described Dylan Thomas as 'the greatest living poet in the English language'; but he is one of the most significant, though all may not appreciate his writing and some may even decry him as an innovator for innovation's sake. Certain it is that his style is a highly individual one, and he has a number of annoying mannerisms; but it is well that we should at last have his verses collected together into a single volume, though it will probably be superseded before long, for Dylan Thomas is still on the young side of middle age and has many years before him.

New plays of any note have not been conspicuous. Terence Rattigan's *The Deep Blue Sea* achieved success at the Duchess Theatre, London, and towards the end of the year was published by Hamish Hamilton (price 7/6). The fifth volume of *Plays of the Year*, chosen by J. C. Trewin (Elek Books, 18/—) is not very aptly named, for though it appeared in the middle of 1952 all the pieces included were written in the previous two years or even earlier, and none strikes one as having any great claim to literary merit — a rather sad comment on the state of the contemporary theatre. *Five Famous Plays by Oscar Wilde*, with an introduction by Alan Harris (Duckworth, 15/—) contains *Lady Windermere's Fan*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *The Ideal Husband*, *The Importance of Being Ernest* and *Salome*, the last with the original French text printed alongside the more familiar English one. Mr Harris's introductory essay on Wilde and his achievement is a piece of sound and even at times brilliant criticism, though Mr St. John Ervine would no doubt find much in it with which to disagree.<sup>1</sup> And finally there is *The Collected Plays of W. Somerset Maugham* (Heinemann, 3 vols., 15/— per vol.). Each volume is provided with a preface in which Mr Maugham discusses the plays, the theatre, the audience, the actors and the many problems incidental to play-writing.

The obituary of writers is rather longer this year than last. It includes Norman Douglas, novelist, traveller and essayist (d. Feb. 8), Sylvia Lynd, widow of Robert Lynd and herself a poet and essayist (d. Feb. 21), Jeffery Farnol, novelist (d. Aug. 10), E. H. W. Meyerstein, poet, short-story writer and critic (d. Sept. 12), Ian Hay (Major-General Sir John Hay Beith, d. Sept. 22), Gilbert Frankau (d. Nov. 4), and Marjorie Bowen (d. Dec. 26). All were of the older generation and had made their distinctive mark in the world of English letters.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide his book *Oscar Wilde, A Present-Time Appraisal*, noticed in *E. S.*, Dec., 1952, pp. 283-84.



# Points of Modern English Syntax

## XXV

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXXIV. No. 2, April 1953

(Continued)

69. We are usually taught that interrogative *which* differs from *who* and *what* in that it asks after one or more members out of a more or less definite group, for which reason it is always used when the group is specifically mentioned, especially when it follows in an *of*-adjunct, or when it is present in the speaker's mind, so that it can be supplied in thought, while *who* and *what* only ask vaguely and indefinitely after ideas in general; hence *Which do you like better, tea or coffee?* *Which of you has seen my glasses?*, but *What foreign languages do you know?* *Who has seen my glasses?* The correctness of this generally accepted view, which still holds well-nigh undisputed sway in grammars, especially of the more elementary kind, seems open to doubt. In the first place it must be pointed out that a question like *Who has seen my glasses?* can hardly be supposed to be directed to mankind at large; it is necessarily addressed to a well-defined group, say the inmates of a house, the occupants of a room, or what not, and asks after one or more members of that group. And the statement that an *of*-adjunct necessarily entails the use of *which* is contradicted by our first quotation. In case it is objected that one swallow does not make a summer, here are some more.<sup>1</sup>

1. Ask all Florence who of those five men has the truest heart. George Eliot, *Romola* III, ch. LIX, p. 424.
2. I confess I do like to know who of my friends has been the last to die. Anstey, *The Giant's Robe* II, ch. X, p. 121.
3. I want to show her who's the best man of the two. Id., *Vice Versa*, ch. IX, p. 191.
4. Who of us has arrived at maturity and is so fortunate as not to know what suspense and terror are in respect to those we love? Barry Pain, *The Luck of the Darrells* II, ch. XX, p. 217.
5. It is not easy for the wisest of us to say who of our acquaintance is likely to become a pauper. *Times*.
6. Who of her admirers would not feel glad and proud to leave (have?) such fragrant blossoms offered to him in so light and graceful a way? *Academy*.
7. Who of writers now living is the greatest exponent of the 'distinguished' style? *Essays of To-Day*, The Harrap Library, p. 239.
8. 'Who of you three first thought of sending the feathers?' she asked aggressively. A. E. W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* XV, p. 169.
9. Of all melancholy topics, what is the most melancholy? E. A. Poe.

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the quotations illustrating this Point have been taken from the works of Poutsma and Kruisinga, and from a series of articles on the Interrogative Pronouns by L. P. H. Eykman in the Dutch periodical *De Drie Talen*, Vol. 43, 1927.

10. Who amongst us is there that does not recollect similar hours of childish grief? Thackeray, *The Virginians*, p. 30.
11. Who of us would be prepared to approve such a course? (Dr. Wood.)
12. Who of the Scottish members voted against the Bill? (id.)

In all of these examples the group is explicitly mentioned in the shape of a prepositional adjunct, but this does not prevent *who* and *what* being used. Nor do we find *which* in the following sentences, where the reference to a well-defined group is unmistakable.

13. Doting mother: 'And whom do you love best, Daddy or Mummy?' Johnny: 'Daddy'. *Punch's Almanack*, 1911/4.
14. Advocate: What side of the road were you on? Witness: The left. J. G. Sherlock, *Box and Dock*, p. 24.
15. 'Of course', said Sophia to Fossette, 'she expects me to go to her, instead of her coming to me. And yet, who's the busiest?' A. Bennett, *Old Wives' Tale* IV, ch. I, 5.

Examples might be multiplied, but the above will no doubt suffice to prove that the usual statement about *which* making a choice out of a more or less definite group stands in need of revision.

To provide a basis for a subsequent comparison we will now first give some examples with *which*.

16. I want to have a look at our old school at Green Hill. — So do I. Let's go together. — All right. Which way shall we go? — I don't care, as long as we keep off the road. Sweet, *Elementarbuch*, No. 64.
17. Miss Smith: 'Now Madge, tell me, which would you rather be — pretty or good?' Madge (promptly): 'I would rather be pretty, Miss Smith; I can easily be good whenever I like to try'. (Punch? Quoted by Kruisinga, *Handbook*, 1070, without indication of source.)
18. Let's go into the study while the maid is clearing away. Which'll you have, Turkish, Egyptian or Virginia? Collinson, *Spoken English*, p. 40.
19. 'Which will you have?' asked Stanley, leaning across the table very politely, and smiling at her. 'Which will you have to begin with — strawberries and cream or bread with dripping?' K. Mansfield, *Bliss*, p. 4.
20. Recently there has been renewed speculation on speech and gesture. Which came first? Firth, *Speech*, p. 17.

The conclusion to which a study and comparison of all these examples must lead, is, we think, the following.

#### Interrogative *which*

- a. refers to a group, either explicitly mentioned or else readily inferable from the circumstances of the case.
- b. does not choose out of this group, but selects, that is, it chooses but at the same time rejects or excludes the other member(s) of the group.
- c. selects between definite, contrasted alternatives.

Interrogative *who* and *what* on the other hand

- a. may refer to a group or not.
- b. merely ask after the idea the speaker means or wants, without any definite thought of anything else.

The essential difference between the two groups of pronouns may

perhaps without undue simplification be stated in this way: *which* classifies disjunctively; *who* and *what* merely identify.

The reader may be interested in what Dr. Wood has to say on this matter. 'At one time, when there were only two universities in England, one would have asked *Which university did he go to?*, for Oxford and Cambridge were the only ones in question' (our 'definite, contrasted alternative', E.). 'Now, unless we make it clear that the choice is between certain<sup>o</sup> specific ones, we should probably ask *What university .... etc.*' (Of course; there are so many universities in England nowadays that a man may be pardoned if he does not know of all the possibilities, so that there is no definite alternative in his mind, E.). '*What will you have to drink?*' offers us an unrestricted choice' (our 'mere identification': 'give it a name', E.); 'as soon as we restrict it we must use *which*: *Which will you have, tea, coffee, or cocoa?*' (our 'disjunctive classification': if you take this, then you can't have that, E.). 'Of course, *what* can still be used even when specific beverages are mentioned, if they are put forward merely as suggestions to which we are not limited, e.g. *What will you have to drink? Tea? Coffee? Cocoa? Lemonade?*' (In this case *what* has its usual identifying sense; the various drinks available are only enumerated by way of afterthought, E.) Similarly in pre-austerity days it would have been possible for a hostess to say *What will you have, beef or mutton?*, the implication being: both are available, and if you want you can have both. But when the choice of one is represented as automatically implying the rejection of the other, as would be more likely these days, the question would be *Which will you have?*

As regards the difference between *who of us (you, them)?* and *which of us (you, them)?*, the former, as we have tried to make clear, denotes a person as an individual, no matter whether he forms part of a group or not, while the latter refers to a person as a unit or member of a group, in contrast to other members or units. We quote Dr. Wood again: 'The leader of a party, when ordering refreshments for them, would probably ask *Which of you would like tea and which coffee?*, because at that point he is interested only in the number of each he must order; but when the drinks arrive and he has to make sure that each person gets what he asked for, the inquiry might well be *Who of you asked for tea?*'

All this is borne out by the quotations we gave just now. In the first, from *Romola*, the speaker uses *who of those five men* because his interlocutor can hardly be supposed to be interested in the identity of the other four, the ones with the less true hearts; in the second sentence the speaker is not anxious to know the names of the friends that died before the last of them; he does not want to arrive at the latter's identity by elimination of the others: all he wants to learn is the name of the man who was the last to die; in short, he wants identification, not classification, and hence he uses *who*. Similar considerations hold good for the other examples, which the reader will no doubt be able to interpret for himself. A word of explanation may be welcome in the case of No. 13: the mother avoids the

use of *which* because it would compel the child to make too invidious a choice: it would select one parent to the marked exclusion of the other and hence be unkind to the latter.

What has been said above about *which* classifying the members of a group disjunctively and *who* and *what* having merely an identifying sense, also applies to those cases where two opposed or contrasted categories are explicitly mentioned: we find *which* when there is a disjunctive grouping, represented as the result of a deliberate process of sifting and rejecting, *who* and *what* when there is no selection, but merely an enumeration of opposed or contrasted individual ideas. When some months ago Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons reviewed the practical working of the American constitution, he is reported in the papers as having said:

21. But sometimes one finds that Congress takes the bit between its teeth and one sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy.

*Which*, in our opinion, would hardly be possible here, because it would suggest that President Eisenhower and Senator McCarthy form a group who between them share the executive power in the United States, whereas Mr. Attlee simply represented them as two individuals, both powerful, but wielding their power in opposite directions.

The same interpretation, enumeration of contrasted ideas rather than division of a group into disjunctive parts, is responsible for the use of the interrogative pronouns in cases like the following.

22. Who had suffered most the previous evening, he or she? Edith Wharton, *The Mother's Recompense*, p. 208.

23. Who won the battle, the English or the Scots? H. E. Palmer, *English Through Questions and Answers* II, I, 119.

24. Holmes knew by now.... what adventures could be profitably undertaken and what couldn't. Rose Macaulay, *Told by an Idiot*, p. 208 (Tauchnitz).

25. Who's stronger, He who makes or He who mars? Mrs. Browning, *Aurora Leigh*, 225.

26. Will you decide what men shall live, what men shall die? Dickens, *Christmas Carol* III, p. 70.

But as soon as such a grouping is represented as the result of a classification of the members of some collectivity, we find *which*.

27. It's the tone the men use. Remains to be seen which can hold out longest — they without us, or we without them. J. Galsworthy, *Strife* I, p. 33. (group: the parties concerned in the strike: capital and labour).

28. Which would they have? Let the jury decide for Christ or Barabbas. Richard Dehan, *The Dop Doctor*, ch. XV, p. 124. (group: the two accused).

29. Which produces the truer portrait, the art of a master hand or the mechanics of the photographer? Times, Lit. Suppl. 19/4, 1918. (group: the techniques of portraiture).

Let us now turn to the sentences quoted on p. 95, on which we invited the readers to comment, and see in how far all this will explain the use of the interrogative pronouns. In the first the speaker says *Who of us*



could not say that? because she means: all my friends and acquaintances could say that. She does not think of a disjunctive classification, of a contrast to others, who could truthfully say that they would have no use for ten thousand a year, because she knows of no such people. But Thackeray uses *which* because he had in his mind some such thought as: None of us know their fate: can you point out any of us who does? There is, of course, no compelling reason why he should have thought of such a contrast, nor why in the first sentence the speaker should not have thought 'all of us can say that, I don't know of any who could honestly deny it', and hence Mr. N. E. Osselton, of Groningen, rightly remarks that in his opinion the pronouns are interchangeable in the first two quotations. But syntax, as we have more than once had occasion to remark, is only concerned with the interpretation of constructions as actually used and cannot be expected to prescribe the way in which people should look at things.

(To be concluded in the next number, which will contain a new set of questions.)

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

### Brief Mention

*French Influence in English Phrasing.* By A. A. PRINS. Leiden: Universitaire Pers. 1952. 320 pp. Price f 20.—.

*A Syntax of the English Language of St. Thomas More,* H. By F. TH. VISSER. Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. 1952. xx, 449-751 pp.

Last year saw the publication of two important works by professors of English in Dutch Universities, to which provisional attention may be drawn till reviews become available.

Professor Prins has set himself the task of studying the influence of French in English phrasing. His work contains a collection of French phrases, expressions and turns of speech that have penetrated into English and have been incorporated into the language; the author's object being to ascertain if and in how far such phrases have affected the general phrasal structure of English. One chapter is devoted to a critique of the late R. W. Chambers' well-known essay *On the Continuity of English Prose*.

Professor Visser's volume continues the first part of the same work published in 1946. The present instalment deals with Syntactical Units with Two Verbs joined in Direct Nexus (*I shall go, he is talking, he has done*), Indirect Nexus (*I saw him go, etc.*) together with Units with Three or More Verbs being held over for the third and last part. The work is valuable not only as an investigation of the syntax of St. Thomas More, but as a study of the historical syntax of English generally. — Z.

## Cynewulf's Runes in *Juliana* and *Fates of the Apostles*

In a previous article on Cynewulf's Runes in *Christ II* and *Elene*<sup>1</sup> the present writer made the attempt to re-interpret the runic passages in those two poems by adhering as closely as possible to the traditional Old English meanings of the rune-names with which Cynewulf and his contemporaries would have been familiar. Our main thesis may conveniently be briefly summarised here before we proceed to discuss Cynewulf's use of runes in *Juliana* and *Fates of the Apostles* and finally turn to consider some further problems raised by this discussion.

While our knowledge of the Old English rune-names and their meanings depends largely on the *Runic Poem*, which may be assigned to Cynewulf's century<sup>2</sup>, and on the various runic alphabets preserved in MS or transcript, the relatively large number of existing Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions suggests that centuries after the Anglo-Saxon settlement not only the use of runic writing but some of the traditional lore associated with it was still very much alive. Thus, speaking of the name *ūr* in the *Runic Poem*, Arntz writes: 'Wir dürfen wohl annehmen, dass sein Name sich im Runenkult aus der festländischen Runenzeit bis in unser Lied gerettet hat'<sup>3</sup>. There seems to us little doubt that Cynewulf was perfectly familiar with the traditional Old English names of the runes and their meanings, and that he expected his audience to be equally familiar with them. With reference to the runic passages in *Christ II* and *Elene* we accordingly suggested that the poet could achieve his double purpose — a coherent poetic narrative embodying the runes spelling his name — only by using the relevant runes in their accepted senses. The five runes and names N *nēd* 'necessity', E *eoh* 'horse', W *wyn* 'joy', L *lagu* 'water, sea', F *feoh* 'wealth', presented no difficulty whatever, because these words are part of the ordinary Old English vocabulary. C *cēn* 'torch', Y *ȝr* 'bow', and U *ūr* 'bison', however, are only rune-names in Old English, yet their meanings, literal and figurative, must have been sufficiently alive to be correctly applied in the *Runic Poem*; and we believe that Cynewulf knew them and used them in the same manner. This is borne out not only by the fact that both 'torch' and 'bow' make acceptable sense in *Christ II* and *Elene*, fitting easily and naturally into the poetic context, but also by the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> *English Studies*, April 1953.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the first half of the 9th century, although other dates have been suggested. Thus Arntz, *Runen und Runennamen*, Anglia lxxvii/lxxviii, 1944, p. 194 suggests the 7th century 'oder etwas später'; Bruce Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, 1915, p. 6, calls the *Runic Poem* 'pre-Alfredian at least'. On the other hand cf. C. W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry*, 1943, p. 362: 'The *Rune Poem* is of late date and based on Old Norse'.

<sup>3</sup> H. Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde*, 2nd ed., 1944, p. 189.

rune-name *ūr* appears still to have possessed in 9th century England the earlier Germanic association with 'male strength', a concept symbolised by the 'ur byþ anmod ... felaþrecne deor ... modig wuht' of the *Runic Poem* and again fitting naturally enough into Cynewulf's verse.

Cynewulf's method of inserting his runic acrostic is quite straightforward in *Christ II* and *Elene*. In both poems the runes occur in their right order, heralded as it were by the unmistakable rune-name *cēn*, and woven singly into the structure of the verse so as to further the narrative rather than in any way impede it. It is in the method of inserting the runes that the two poems already considered differ fundamentally from both *Juliana* and *Fates*. *Juliana* preserves the right order, but inserts the runes in three groups, CYN, EWU, and LF, with points separating each rune from the next and from the surrounding text in the MS. *Fates* which like *Christ II* omits E as far as can be judged from the damaged MS, disturbs the order of the runes. It first gives F but indicates its final position in the poet's name by the words

F þær on ende standeþ<sup>4</sup>,

followed, as far as can be surmised, by the runes W,U,L,C,Y,N, again woven singly into the text.

As the principle of inserting the runes singly, despite their disturbed order, is the same in *Fates* as in *Christ II* and *Elene*, it will be best to consider this poem first. The runic passage in *Fates*, as already mentioned, is unfortunately rendered partially illegible by a large stain in the MS, and only the runes F,U,L are actually clearly visible. Alliteration, however, as well as context, determine with reasonable certainty the position of the remaining runes, except Y which is best placed after C in line 103, where the original reading probably was

þonne C ond Y cræftes neotað,

syntactically rather like the

þendan Y ond N yþast meahtan  
frofre findan

of *Christ II* 800-801. The absence of the rune E has already been commented upon in our discussion of the latter poem. Our reading of *Fates* 96-106, based on Napier's transcript<sup>5</sup>, is as follows:

Her mæg findan foreþances gleaw,  
se ðe hine lysteð leoðgiddunga,  
hwa þas fitte fegde. F þær on ende standeþ,  
eorlas þæs on eorðan brucaþ; ne moton hie awa ætsomne,  
woruldwunigende. W sceal gedreosan,

100

<sup>4</sup> line 98; the emendation of MS *standeþ* is generally accepted.

<sup>5</sup> ZfdA xxxiii, 1889, pp. 70-73.

U on eðle æfter tohreoseð,  
 læne lices frætewa, efne swa L toglideð.  
 þonne C ond Y cræftes neotað,  
 nihtes nearowe on him N ligeð,  
 cyninges þeodom. Nu ðu cunnon miht  
 hwa on þam wordum wæs werum oncyðig.

105

Our reading differs in some points from Napier's and from those of later commentators and editors<sup>6</sup>; thus we prefer to read *tohreoseð* in line 101, a perfectly good Anglian form<sup>7</sup>, governed by the rune-name *ūr*, with *læne lices frætewa* in apposition<sup>8</sup>. Our retention of the MS *neotað* in line 103 will be discussed below. As regards punctuation, we prefer a full stop after *woruldwunigende* (100), while we read both line 101 and line 104 continuously in the manner indicated above.

The purpose of the runic passage in *Fates* is clear enough: twice the poet asks for prayer to aid his soul as it journeys

feor heonan,  
 an elles forð eardes neosan,

and as in the other signed poems he weaves his name into the text without disturbing the narrative. There is, however, more of the traditional riddle in this passage than in either *Christ II* or *Elene*. In the latter poems Cynewulf could rightly assume that the use of *cēn* 'torch' — an unmistakable rune-name — would suffice to indicate the beginning of the acrostic. In *Fates* a rather less subtle method is employed, and both the beginning and the end of the puzzle are clearly indicated. The words

F þær on ende standeþ

are quite unequivocal, and the sequence W, U, L, following at once enables the listener to complete easily the word *wulf*. C, Y, N, follow to complete a name which must have been familiar enough in Anglo-Saxon England, while the end of the riddle is again unambiguously indicated in lines 105b-106.

Within the framework of his riddle Cynewulf expresses thoughts on the transitory nature of man and his possessions; thoughts such as were occupying him also when writing the closing verses of *Elene* and *Christ II*. Within the shorter compass of *Fates*, however, there is no elaboration of the Judgment Day theme; there is instead merely the simple suggestion that when the poet has departed on his 'journey out of this world', life as he knew it will go on, and the pious hope that

mann se ðe lufige  
 þisses galdres begang

<sup>6</sup> Notably Sievers, *Zu Cynewulf*, *Anglia* xiii, 1891, pp. 1-10, and G. P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book* (*The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* II), 1932, pp. 53-4 and 123 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Sievers-Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, 1942, para 371, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> For a fairly close parallel cf. *Beowulf* 1754.



will offer prayer for his salvation<sup>9</sup>. In our view the lines

þonne C ond Y cræftes neotað,  
nihtes nearowe on him N ligeð,  
cyninges þeodom,

do not present the insuperable difficulties encountered by commentators, aptly summed up in Sievers' words 'mit C und Y weiss ich nichts anzufangen'<sup>10</sup>. In the first place, the MS reading *neotað* should be allowed to stand, for there seems to be no good reason to justify the emendation *neosað*; and in the second place, we may once more safely assume that Cynewulf was using *cēn* and *ȝr* in their accepted meanings, while at the same time allowing himself the poet's liberty of giving to these words a wider, more metaphorical significance<sup>11</sup>. There is a simple, yet effective contrast implied in this passage when translated literally: 'While torch and bow continue to use their skill, constraint, the King's servitude, lies upon them (*eorlas*) in the anguish of the night'. 'Torch' and 'bow', we suggest, symbolise the two aspects of Anglo-Saxon life most frequently depicted in Old English poetry, although we agree with Miss Whitelock that in actual fact they were not the only important ones<sup>12</sup>: on the one hand the gathering in the hall with its light of torch or fire much as Beowulf saw it in Grendel's abode<sup>13</sup>, and as the *Runic Poem* describes it:

cen... byrneþ oftust  
ðær hi æþelingas inne restap;

on the other hand the life of active manhood, symbolised by the bow, the 'busy' weapon of war or of the chase. 'Torch and bow continue to use their skill' may thus be taken to mean quite simply that life in all its aspects goes on for some, while on the other hand it has ceased for those on whom God has placed the constraint of death, for no one, as the poet said earlier, can enjoy *feoh* for ever:

ne moton hie awa ætsomne,  
woruldwunigende,

*Nihtes nearowe*, readily associated with distress and mourning<sup>14</sup>, and here clearly referring to the darkness of the tomb, is aptly contrasted with

<sup>9</sup> As *him* in line 104 can be equally well plural as singular, it may refer either to the poet himself or to the *eorlas* of line 99. But even in the latter case, perhaps the more likely alternative, the poet was no doubt thinking of himself also.

<sup>10</sup> Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Cynewulf's use of metaphor and other poetic devices has been frequently discussed and requires no further comment here. Cf., for example, Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>12</sup> 'A thane's life was not spent between the hall and the battlefield, as one might almost imagine from poetic sources alone, nor in the sports of the field, important though these were'; Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 1952, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> *Beowulf* 1512-1517.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., e.g., *Guthlac* 1209b-1210a.

the light suggested by *cēn*; and, as a phrase, it links easily enough with the use of *nēd* in the same line, recalling the 'nyd byþ nearu on breostan' of the *Runic Poem*.<sup>15</sup> Allowing *ūr* 'bison' to retain in *Fates*, as in *Christ II* and *Elene*, its figurative connotation of 'male strength', the passage under discussion might be rendered as follows:

Here a man of shrewd understanding who takes pleasure in verse can discover who made this song. 'Wealth' stands last; noble men enjoy it on earth, but they, dwellers in this world, cannot enjoy it for ever. Joy shall pass away; and then in the native land manly strength decays, the body's fleeting adornments, just as water glides away. While torch and bow continue to use their skill, constraint, the King's servitude, lies upon them in the anguish of the night. Now you may know who has been revealed to men in these words.

The double significance of *feoh* is of course not easily brought out in translation, unless the word itself is retained, as Mr Sisam does<sup>16</sup>, or placed in inverted commas. A 9th century audience accustomed to the technique of the riddles would of course have had little difficulty in finding the correct interpretation.

When we turn to the fourth poem, *Juliana*, the problem of the runic signature takes on a rather different aspect. In its use of *groups* of runes *Juliana* differs essentially from the other signed poems, and runological parallels must therefore be sought, not in the other three Cynewulfian passages, where each rune occurring singly clearly stands for its name, but in other passages of Old English verse where groups of runes occur. On stylistic evidence there is good ground for believing that *Juliana* is the earliest of Cynewulf's signed poems: 'The narrative fluctuates and the style affords few marks of the rhetorical and metrical skills which the *Elene* and *Christ II* display'<sup>17</sup>. It seems therefore antecedently probable that in this poem Cynewulf adopted for his first acrostic the more familiar and straightforward method of the Anglo-Saxon runic riddle, discarding this method in his later and more mature work in favour of the more subtle and accomplished device of *Christ II* and *Elene*. In *Fates*, where the phrasing of the runic passage is closer to *Juliana* than to the other two, the framework of the riddle still remains, but the actual method of inserting the runes is already that of the later poems.

Among Old English riddles offering runological parallels to the passage in *Juliana Riddle 19* stands closest. Its four groups of runes, consisting of from three to six letters, spell simple words, reading backwards in each case for alliterative reasons and no doubt to enhance the puzzle. The words are fitted naturally into the context. In the MS points occur before and after each group of runes, but none within. The word *rad* in line 5 is not given as a rune but written out in full and does not seem to be intended to form part of the group of runes immediately following.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also the 'nauð er...þungr kostr' of the Icelandic runic poem.

<sup>16</sup> K. Sisam, *Cynewulf and his Poetry*, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xviii, 1932, p. 318.

<sup>17</sup> Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 213. Cf. also Kennedy, *The Poems of Cynewulf*, 1910, pp. 21f., and Trautmann, *Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter*, *Bonner Beitr.* I, 1898, p. 113.

*Riddle 75* unfortunately consists of only a few words, but the method of inserting the runes DNLH, probably an error (reading backwards) for HUND, is the same as in *Riddle 19*, as is the method of punctuation.

In *Riddle 24* the method of insertion is different. Here the solution is given simply by spelling the word *higoræ* in a jumbled order<sup>18</sup>, fitting the runes into the alliterative scheme, but *not* into the actual context of the riddle. Each rune is placed between points and their value as letters only is quite plainly indicated by the concluding words:

nu ic haten eom  
swa þa siex stafas sweotule becnab.

The same method of using runes only for their letter values is varied slightly in *Riddle 42* and *Riddle 58*, where in place of the runic characters themselves, however, the names are written out in full, although in both cases the word *runstafas* makes their function clear.

As both *Riddle 64* and the runes in *The Husband's Message* present problems of interpretation that still await a satisfactory solution, it would only complicate the present issue were they to be discussed here<sup>19</sup>. In both poems each rune is inserted between points, as is the normal practice where single runes occur in the *Exeter Book*<sup>20</sup>.

Returning to the runic passage in *Juliana*, it is at once apparent that the runes are not used merely to spell the poet's name in the manner of *Riddle 24*: they are not simply inserted into the text independent of the context because the context alone makes no sense; nor is there any helpful indication of a mere spelling function by means of the word *runstafas*. Our conclusion therefore must be that the runes in *Juliana* are not solely part of the alliterative scheme, but are also a meaningful part of the context, and three alternative solutions remain which must now be considered.

(a) The runes again stand simply for their traditional Old English names as in the other signed poems, and are to be interpreted as separate words within the context. Now this is patently impossible in the case of C, Y, and N, with a singular verb preceding, as also in the case of E, W, and U, although the verb here is plural. In neither case does mere substitution of the rune-names yield any sense; a different solution must clearly be sought, preferably one supported by the most reliable evidence available, that of the Riddles. The case is different, however, for the group LF: no evidence exists that two runes like these could by themselves spell any word, unless it be made up of their names. Even *Riddle 64*, whose interpretation is by no means certain, differs fundamentally from the present case: its pairs of runes could in every case conceivably represent the beginnings of words, whereas the two consonants *lf* obviously could not.

<sup>18</sup> The minuscule *x* in line 7 is clearly a scribal error for X, the G-rune.

<sup>19</sup> For a summary discussion of *Riddle 64* cf. Krapp-Dobbie, *The Exeter Book (The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III)*, 1936, pp. 367-8; and of *The Husband's Message*, *ibid.*, pp. 363-4.

<sup>20</sup> Thus in *The Ruin* 23, *Riddle 91* line 7, as well as in the runic passage in *Christ II*.

As in our view Cynewulf was not likely to interpret these runes in the arbitrary manner of some of his modern commentators, but would give them their correct names, we fully agree with Tupper that 'the only other alternative, since a compound is dictated to us by the context, is to interpret the two runes as *lago-feoh*'<sup>21</sup>. The precise significance of this compound will be examined below.

(b) The second possible alternative is that the groups of runes in *Juliana* spell words which form part of the narrative. This solution is ruled out for the group LF for the reasons just stated, but the evidence of *Riddle 19* and *Riddle 75* strongly supports it for the groups CYN and EWU. This has been the view of most commentators<sup>22</sup>, who see in CYN the familiar Old English word *cyn*, variously glossed 'race, nation, people, tribe, generation'<sup>23</sup>, a collective term frequently associated in Anglo-Saxon usage with mankind as a whole<sup>24</sup>; and in EWU a Northumbrian plural form of OE *e(o)we* 'sheep, ewe'<sup>25</sup>. Such a reading requires the MS *fah* in line 705 to be emended to the plural *fa*; for the rest both *cyn* and *ewu* fit correctly into the context. The punctuation of the passage, however, seems to oppose the solution just advanced: the scribe of the *Exeter Book* distinguished in pointing between groups of runes as in *Riddle 19* and *Riddle 75*, and single runes, whether standing for their names as in *Christ II* or *The Ruin*, or used simply to spell words as in *Riddle 24*. In *Juliana* the punctuation seems to suggest in the first instance that the runes are to be read singly, not as words. On second thoughts, however, it appears more reasonable to suppose that the scribe was aware of the twofold function of the runes in this passage, and that his punctuation, if it was deliberate at all, was designed to emphasise their more important aspect — the spelling of the poet's name — rather than their contextual function as in the two Riddles where this is their sole purpose. Considering that nowhere else in the codex quite the same problem occurs, the scribe acquitted himself reasonably enough.

Mr. Sisam in his valuable study of Cynewulf raises another objection. He agrees that *cyn* 'can be made to yield some kind of sense in the context', but objects strongly to the reading of EWU as 'sheep': 'Now *ewu* does not really mean "sheep": it means "female sheep"; and that Cynewulf should picture himself on the Day of Judgment as a ewe is plainly ridiculous'<sup>26</sup>. This is not, we feel, a very convincing objection. The Old English word *e(o)we* is not used solely of female sheep<sup>27</sup>; it just so

<sup>21</sup> F. Tupper, Jr., *The Cynewulfian Runes of the Religious Poems*, MLN, xxvii, 1912, p. 136.

<sup>22</sup> Trautmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Strunk, *The Juliana of Cynewulf*, 1904, p. 60; Carleton Brown, *The autobiographical element in the Cynewulfian Rune Passages*, *Englische Studien* xxxviii, 1907, p. 199; Tupper, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>23</sup> Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *cyn*.

<sup>24</sup> E.g.: *Beowulf* 701, 914, etc.; *Christ III* 387, 961-2; *Paris Psalter* psalm 71, v. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Sievers-Brunner, *op. cit.*, para 276, note 6.

<sup>26</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *ewe*. Similarly, Latin *ovis* could be used for male sheep, and



happened that ewes were the more important of their species in the Anglo-Saxon economy<sup>28</sup>, so that the word generally carries its specific sense. But the word could no doubt be as much a generic term in Old English as the related *eowd(e)*, Gothic *aweþi*, 'a flock of sheep' presumably composed of both sexes, or, for that matter, as the 'sheep', 'horse', or 'cat' of our own often vaguely defined usage to-day. On the other hand there is nothing incongruous in Cynewulf's association of sheep with the Day of Judgment: to a 'ninth-century ecclesiastic of cultured taste, ... well versed in the Latin works that the educated clergy of those days used'<sup>29</sup> the sheep-imagery of the Psalter and the Prophets, of SS. Matthew and John and the Fathers, must have been familiar enough. If Cynewulf in a perfectly coherent passage of verse used the word *ewu* rather than the word *scep*, he did so quite simply because he had to fit in the letters E, W, U, to spell his name, and because to his contemporaries neither the figure nor the word itself would have appeared in any way either incongruous or ludicrous.

(c) The third solution concerning the runes in *Juliana* is that first suggested by Grein and favoured by Mr. Sisam: to substitute for each of the three groups of runes the poet's full name, a procedure Mr. Sisam also suggests for *cēn* and *ȝr* in *Christ II* and *Elene*. This is an attractive suggestion, but there appears to be no runological evidence to support it, and there are grammatical difficulties in *Juliana* as in *Christ II* which are not sufficiently accounted for by 'some uncertainty of concord in the original ... and a risk of inaccurate transmission'<sup>30</sup>. There is the further objection to this suggestion, already considered in our discussion of *Christ II* and *Elene*, that the substitution of the poet's name for each of the groups of runes in *Juliana* introduces an autobiographical element which we have no right to assume in a passage kept in quite general terms<sup>31</sup>.

Summing up our discussion of *Juliana*, we note first that Cynewulf here used for his signature a method which, while it lacked the subtlety he accomplished in his later poems, had the advantage of conforming in the main to the methods of inserting runes used in the more learned variety of Anglo-Saxon Riddles. Of the three solutions we have examined, (c) must be ruled out for lack of supporting evidence, as well as on syntactical and stylistic grounds; while (b) most readily commends itself as offering the best interpretation for the groups CYN and EWU. The last group, LF, cannot spell a word, and the only remaining alternative consistent with our principles of interpretation is to give the runes their names to form the compound *lagu-feoh*. There is no evidence whatever to support Trautmann's *lic-fæt*<sup>32</sup>; that it makes acceptable sense to the modern critic is no sufficient justification; nowhere in Germanic or Anglo-Saxon usage do

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the cognate OHG *ou* glosses Lat. *ovicula* and Lat. *agnus*. The latter usage suggests religious associations which may well have attached also to OE *e(o)we*, thus making Cynewulf's use quite appropriate.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ælfric, *Colloquy*, 37 ff. <sup>29</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 324. <sup>30</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

<sup>31</sup> On this point cf. also Carleton Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9, and our concluding paragraph below.

<sup>32</sup> Trautmann, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

these two runes stand for these two words. Nor can we accept Carleton Brown's *lagufloed*<sup>33</sup>; if Cynewulf uses the compound *L-flodum* in *Christ II* 806, it is because he duly follows this up with *F feoh* in the next line. There is no way out of this difficulty except the obvious one: to interpret these two runes in the only manner in which an Anglo-Saxon audience accustomed to the traditional Old English rune-names would have interpreted them. Our task is solely to determine with reasonable probability the meaning which Cynewulf would have associated with a compound not otherwise found in Old English verse.

It may be deemed antecedently probable that the imagery associated in the poet's mind with the Day of Judgment was much the same when he wrote *Christ II* as when he wrote *Juliana*<sup>34</sup>, and Carleton Brown was surely right in drawing attention to what appears a likely parallel in the former poem:

U wæs longe  
Lflodum bilocen, lifwynna dæl,  
F on foldan,

which in our previous article we rendered 'Manly strength, his portion of life's delights, wealth on earth, had long been entombed by the waterfloods'. *Lagu-feoh beofað*, *seomað sorgcearig* seems to us reasonably explained as a picture, almost laconic in its terseness, of the earth's wealth and all men's worldly treasures engulfed by the floods of Doomsday as they are described in the opening lines of *The Judgment Day I*:

þæt gelimpan sceal, þætte lagu floweð,  
flod ofer foldan; feores bið æt ende  
anra gehwylcum.

The use of *beofað* is not unusual in such a context<sup>35</sup>, and *seomað* aptly describes the element of suspense that lies heavily upon the doomed creation.

One other consideration requires to be mentioned. Recent runic scholarship has endeavoured to show, *inter alia*, the significance of the L-rune within the Germanic fupark and runic lore generally<sup>36</sup>, and it seems reasonable to believe that the fupark reflects something of the threefold division of the Germanic cosmos, and that the L-rune in particular was associated with the nether regions, a watery realm such as we still find depicted in *Beowulf*: 'Es lässt sich die Vorstellung von einem Wasserreich unter der Erde, einer "Hölle" ... noch deutlich zurückgewinnen'<sup>37</sup>. Considering that in the case of the U-rune some of the traditional Germanic associations still

<sup>33</sup> Carleton Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>34</sup> Significantly, line 707 of *Juliana* is the same as line 803 of *Christ II*.

<sup>35</sup> There are numerous parallels in Old English verse, e.g.: *Christ II* 826-7, *Christ III* 881-2, 1143-4, *Dream of the Rood* 36-7, *Judgment Day I* 112-13, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See especially Jungandreas, *Die germanische Runenreihe und ihre Bedeutung*, *ZfdPh.* 60, 1935, pp. 105ff.

<sup>37</sup> Arntz, *Runen und Runennamen*, *Anglia* lxxvii/lxxviii, 1944, p. 218; and *Handbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

survive sufficiently well into Cynewulf's age to figure significantly in his verse, it might not be unreasonable to suppose that some of the old associations cling to the L-rune as well. *Lagu-feoh* 'the wealth of the sea-realm' in that case would suggest a blend of the Germanic underworld with all its possessions and the Christian hell, a place which the poet might well describe as *sorgcearig* on the Day of Judgment. Such a blend of runic lore and Christian doctrine need after all be no more surprising in certain passages of Old English literature than other important Germanic survivals in Old English verse, or indeed than runic inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Since runic traditions held some place in the heritage of 9th century England, there is no reason why they should not be discernible in Old English verse, and especially in the verse of one so obviously skilled in the use of runes as Cynewulf<sup>38</sup>.

The further implications, however, of such questions lie beyond our immediate scope; and we may therefore here conclude our discussion of *Juliana* by appending a translation of its runic passage:

Sadly the human race will depart. The King, the Giver of victories, will be stern when the sin-stained sheep await in terror what He will decree to them as life's requital according to their deeds. (Earth's) flood-bound wealth will quake; it will lie heavy with its burden of sorrow.

The primary object of our reconsideration of Cynewulf's runic passages has been to restore, where possible with the aid of recent runic scholarship, the most likely interpretation which Cynewulf and his contemporaries would have placed upon them. The evidence of the *Runic Poem*, the runic Riddles, and the occasional scribal use of runes in Old English MSS, led us to assume that Cynewulf and his contemporaries were quite familiar with the Old English rune-names. Runes were certainly used for inscriptions in the 9th century; indeed, it is probably not before the beginning of that century that the final set of 33 runes developed in Northumbria. Alcuin who left Northumbria in A.D. 782 knew only 28 runes. Although the gradual mixing of Roman letters with runes began probably already around A.D. 700<sup>39</sup>, there can be little doubt that the 9th century was still thoroughly familiar with runic writing. Furthermore, the *Runic Poem* suggests that more than the purely graphic aspect of runes had survived into the 9th century: to some of the rune-names there still cling in the poem older associations which can be traced back to pagan Germanic antiquity. *Ing* provides an obvious example, and we have suggested the same for *ūr* and possibly even for *lagu* where this is primarily functioning as a rune-name. The assumption that such associations would be known to

<sup>38</sup> One might even go a step further and hear yet another echo of the Germanic trichotomy in the three sentences of the runic passage in *Juliana*, with their references respectively to the earth, the world of men; to heaven, the world of God, 'sigora syllend'; and finally to the world below.

<sup>39</sup> Thus on St. Cuthbert's coffin, Durham; cf. Stephens, *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, 1867, vol. I, pp. 449ff.



Cynewulf, and that he could expect the same knowledge in his audience, seems to us amply justified by the acceptable sense which his runic passages yield when interpreted in this manner. Even if one should prefer to place the *Runic Poem* into the 8th century rather than the 9th, as some scholars do, the case for the survival of runic tradition is not really materially affected.

A further question arises: to whom was Cynewulf addressing himself? What kind of Anglo-Saxon audience would be sufficiently familiar with traditional runic lore to grasp at once the double significance of his runic passages? That his audience was Christian is no less clear than it is in the case of *Beowulf*<sup>40</sup>, and we may therefore assume that 9th century Anglo-Saxon Christianity had absorbed a good deal of traditional runic lore, just as it had accepted the use of runes on crosses and tomb stones. The *Runic Poem* points to the same conclusion. That Cynewulf's audience was in some sense a 'learned' audience is suggested by the remark in *Riddle 42*, lines 5-8:

Ic on flette mæg  
þurh runstafas rincum secgan,  
þam þe bec witan, bega ætsomne  
naman þara wihta.

Wyatt unhesitatingly classified all the runic riddles as 'learned'<sup>41</sup>, and Cynewulf's audience, no less than the poet himself, must be assigned to the same category. To what extent runic lore may have survived into the 9th century as genuine 'folklore', distinct from learned or literary tradition, is an interesting and important question which cannot, however, be discussed here.

If our interpretation of Cynewulf's runic passages has been in the main correct, additional light is thrown on the probable chronology of the four signed poems. In *Juliana* the runic passage conforms closest to the type of Anglo-Saxon runic riddle, and in requesting prayers Cynewulf significantly adds *bi noman minum* (720), and we consequently place it first. In *Fates*, which we place next, the framework of the riddle remains, but the method of inserting the runes shows greater skill and subtlety. The method is the same in *Christ II* and *Elene*, though now no longer in riddle form, but the explicit reference to his old age suggests that the latter poem was Cynewulf's last.

In content the four runic passages stand apart from the surrounding narrative: in every case thoughts of a personal nature are interrupted by more general reflections on man's doom, his past actions and his future fate, and on the transitoriness of all things human. Far from regarding these seemingly sudden transitions in theme as *tours de force* necessitated solely by the runic acrostics, we see in them yet a further instance of the care

<sup>40</sup> See Whitelock, *The Audience of 'Beowulf'*, 1951.

<sup>41</sup> Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*, 1912, p. xxx.



which Cynewulf bestowed on these to him so important passages. Had he intended it, he could no doubt have managed to write his runic passages in the first person; instead, the sudden switching to more general reflections has the immediate effect of making the runic passages stand out all the more poignantly, thus stressing further their deeper significance. Cynewulf, we may well say with Mr. Sisam, 'would surely not take the risk of losing one single prayer'<sup>42</sup>, but rather endeavoured with all the skill and artistry at his command to attain his aim, 'which was no less than his own salvation'.

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## The Dramatic Structure of *Edward II*

It has been generally recognised that the structure of Marlowe's chronicle play differs from that of his other dramas in many respects, but the question in what exactly this difference consists, has not been thoroughly examined so far. Kocher, in his valuable biographical interpretation of Marlowe's work<sup>1</sup>, sees it in, and explains it by, the growing interest of the poet in the human world outside his ego which led him to abandon the one-man structure of *Tamburlaine* and, first, to take into consideration the ethical code and the religious opinions of this world and, secondly, to extend his sympathy to a number of other dramatis personae. In its ultimate result this opinion coincides with the one offered by Charlton and Waller in the introduction to their edition of *Edward II*, but they explain the change of Marlowe's technique not by a corresponding development of his character but by the example set by his contemporary and disciple Shakespeare in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, which made him rely less on 'transport and rhetoric' than on 'the interplay of human character'<sup>2</sup>.

Both explanations of the same phenomenon may be right, and each ultimately rests on a hypothesis, the hypothesis namely that Marlowe — like a romantic poet and unlike what seems to have been the attitude of the Elizabethan playwrights — expressed himself through his work so that his plays may be regarded as the mirror of his thought, and on the hypothesis that Shakespeare wrote his chronicle plays before Marlowe created his *Edward II*. The aim of this paper is not to discuss the question

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<sup>42</sup> Sisam, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

<sup>1</sup> Paul H. Kocher: 'Christopher Marlowe, a Study of his Development' (*Phil. Q.* XVII, 1938); *Christopher Marlowe, a Study of his Thought, Learning, and Character*. Chapel Hill, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> P. 25.

whether the change of dramatic technique in *Edward II* was the result either of the development of Marlowe's character or of the influence of Shakespeare, but to investigate some aspects of the dramatic method which he used in this play. I shall be less concerned with Marlowe's verse and his character-drawing than with the structure of the play, though in a highly organic work of art like *Edward II*, the three aspects are inextricably mixed and cannot be completely isolated from one another. The study of the verse and the characters should therefore yield results similar to those obtained by the study of the structure of the play.

The dramatic method which Marlowe used in his other plays<sup>3</sup> may be roughly summed up in the following way: he juxtaposed a number of episodes which form the body of the drama, and linked them together by the figure of the hero, which he represented by means of either a lyrical portrait as in *Tamburlaine* or, as in *Doctor Faustus*, a spiritual conflict which is clearly separated from the rest of the play. The different episodes are further connected by their causal relationship as in *The Jew*, where Barabas revenges himself on the Governor through the death of the latter's son and then tries to rid himself of those who know about the part he played in the duel between Lodowick and Matthias; or by a common religious and political interest as in *The Massacre*, where the play deals with the struggle between the Catholics and the Huguenots.

Thus the principle of the construction of these plays is rather juxtaposition than subordination to a central idea or motif, although the will to create a whole can be felt even in *Tamburlaine*. But, in his earlier dramas, Marlowe never achieved the impression of unity by the handling of the plot; he rather achieved it by the dominant position he gave to the hero. The impression is left that character and plot exist side by side and do not completely explain each other. Nowhere is the character fused into the action of the play and revealed by the action alone. There still remains a part of his portrait which is not, and cannot be, expressed by the plot and therefore exists for its own sake.

This is no longer the case, however, in *The Massacre*, where the Guise's aspirations are purely political and are completely absorbed by the drama. Boas<sup>4</sup> was the first to insist on the importance of this play because it represents in many respects a precedent to *Edward II*. He limits his observations, however, to parallels between characters and to verbal echoes, whereas the relationship includes the structure of the plays: *The Massacre* shows the same merging of the character into the plot, the violent clash between the hero (Guise) and at least one antagonist (Henry III) which leads to the death of both, and the high speed of the action. But this play — leaving aside the question of the artistic level — still falls into two episodes, the massacre and the struggle between the Guise and Henry III.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately I have not been able to consult G. P. Baker: 'Dramatic Technique in Marlowe' (*Essays and Studies by Members of the Eng. Ass.* IV, 1913) and G. I. Duthie: 'Dramatic Structure of "Tamburlaine"' (*English Studies*, New Series I, 1948).

<sup>4</sup> F. S. Boas: *Christopher Marlowe*. Oxford 1940; chapt. XI, pp. 172-91.

and the only links between them — the figure of the hero and the politico-religious nature of the conflict — are not strong enough to make it an organic whole. *Edward II* possesses the dramatic qualities of the earlier play without sharing its weaknesses, and it has the further advantage that it is preserved in a good text.

Most readers will find it difficult to get a clear idea of the plot of the other plays, whereas it is comparatively easy to sum up the action of *Edward II*: it is the struggle between a king and his peers about a minion, which leads to the latter's death and is followed, first, by the king's revenge and, secondly, by the struggle for power carried on by his antagonist which ends with the death of both the hero and his adversary. This clear outline of the plot is the result of the envisagement and subsequent handling of the material not as a series of episodes but as a whole. Marlowe did not merely condense the material which he found in Holinshed and other chroniclers with a view to reducing the events of 23 years to the 'two hours traffic of the stage', but he selected only those episodes which fitted into the pattern of the play as he conceived it, bound them together and gave prominence to certain minor characters, while he rejected other events which would have made excellent theatre<sup>5</sup>. He eliminated all that would have spoilt his design, namely the prolonged conflict lifting up now the king and now the barons, while it inevitably draws to its tragical conclusion.

This pattern differs widely from that of the other plays where the hero, as in *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew*, inflicts a series of defeats on those who successively oppose him, and finally is either 'hoist with his own petar' or meets with his accidental or tragical fate. In *The Massacre alone* the Guise is defeated by a human antagonist; his death is not, however, the result of the development of a uniform action, but is dealt out to him by a man who rises to eminence only in the second half of the play and only at the end identifies himself with the religious and political forces against which the Guise has spent his fury. Nor is Henry of Navarre his antagonist in the proper sense of the word; although he represents the party hostile to him, he is not the direct cause of his overthrow and his character is too dimly conceived for this part. In *Edward II* the man and the cause are identical from the beginning, and for the first time in Marlowe's plays the hero is confronted with an enemy of equal stature, namely Mortimer, who, as will be shown by the analysis, fully deserves this title.

The play opens, not with a clamorous state scene or the aftermath of a pitched battle as in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, but with Gaveston's soliloquy, which is skilfully broken in the middle by a dramatic passage. This quiet and strictly personal opening is significant in that it prepares the way for a play which is not concerned with political issues and warlike events alone, but with private and intimate relations as well that will lead to actions in the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Charlton and Waller, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff., and J. Bakeless: *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe* (1942), vol. II, pp. 8 ff.



heroic sphere. At the same time this opening focuses our interest on the man who is the object of strife and the cause of the hero's tragical overthrow. With the exception of this scenic section Gaveston remains in the background of the play; his is a passive part and his activity is limited to being banished, recalled and hunted to death, and to cynical sallies of his Gascon wit. Marlowe reveals his character only so far as it concerns the King, to whom he is devoted, though his devotion is not free from egoistical motives. His treatment of the three Poor Men shows that he does not care for the people, whom he considers only so far as they serve his selfish interests. His thoughts are centred in the King

... upon whose bosom let me die,  
And with the world be still at enmity.<sup>6</sup>

In order to remain in his lord's favour he will gladly risk the hatred of all other men, and he will separate the King from them by his love. In the second part of his soliloquy he gives free rein to the sensuous imagination with which he will satisfy Edward's craving for 'music and poetry'. It is just the kind of entertainment he describes here that fascinates the King, and it is important that we should recognise the dramatic function of this soliloquy because it silences the possible objection that nowhere in the play does Marlowe give any reason for the infatuation of the King. The principle of economy which Marlowe observes strictly in this drama, is responsible for the fact that this is the only place where he introduces any motive<sup>7</sup>. The comparative amplitude of the passage — one of the very few descriptions in *Edward II* — is fully justified by its dramatic function.

On this quiet introductory section of the first scene which, translated into musical terms, might be called *sostenuto*, follows the violent clash between the king and his rebellious peers which, for all its conciseness, recalls the numerous scenes of this kind in the first chronicle plays of Shakespeare. Here Edward shows his headstrong character and professes his determination to have his will and Gaveston. Among his opponents the interest at once concentrates on the young Mortimer who, by his impetuous temperament and craving for immediate action, resembles Richard, the later Duke of Gloucester, in *3 Henry VI*.

This rapid and stormy section of I, 1 is followed by the meeting of the two friends. The king has his wish and feels he has reached the height of bliss. Transported as they are they take to swift action and mishandle the Bishop of Coventry who was the main cause of Gaveston's banishment. By ill-treating the spiritual peer they add fuel to the fury of the nobles whose cause slowly gathers impetus in I, 2. The speed of the counteraction, however, is checked by the short intervention of the Queen who, siding

<sup>6</sup> I. I. 14-5. The division into acts and scenes as well as all quotations are taken from the edition of the play by Charlton and Waller, London 1933.

<sup>7</sup> It would be more to the point to speak not of a motive but of the poetic equivalent to a motive, because it is not the psychological adequacy but the poetic function that counts here and elsewhere in poetic drama.



with her husband, acts as a clog and, at the same time, prepares us for the part she is to play later on.

The controlled movement of this scene is interrupted by the ironic thumb-nail sketches of the nobles which Gaveston gives in I, 3. After this brief suspense, and rendered more effective by it, I, 4 begins at top speed: the peers hurriedly put their signatures to the order banishing the favourite. The counteraction thus reaches a first culminating point, and by its concentrated power and momentum the two friends are separated, the King being forced to sign the order. Edward who had his will in the first scene now has to bow to the barons; but he is not prepared to brook the insult and it is he who keeps the action going through the Queen. He threatens not to acknowledge her as his wife if she does not succeed in making the peers recall Gaveston. So she sets about accomplishing this difficult task. It is the young Mortimer whom she selects among the nobles to plead for her cause and through him she effects the recall of the King's minion. Thus this scene witnesses, in its first half, the triumph of the antagonists and, in the second half, the swift rise of the hero to a state of generosity and glad expectancy. At the end of act I the dramatic struggle seems to be decided in his favour.

The dialogue of the two Mortimers which ends the scene, and II, 1 where Baldock and Spencer make up their minds to offer their services to Gaveston, and the King's niece expects the return of her betrothed, mark the time which elapses between his sailing to Ireland and his return. It is a period of political inactivity — although Mortimer Senior departs for the Scottish wars — and a lull in the movement of the drama, the interest being shifted to the private sphere of life. A minimum of tension is preserved, however, by the aristocratic pride of the young Mortimer, who emphasizes his determination not to 'yield to any such upstart' and 'dapper Jack so brisk' as Gaveston. Rebellion is still smouldering.

The tension becomes more acute in II, 2 where Edward impatiently expects his minion, while the nobles vent their hatred of Gaveston. The latent conflict at once explodes into open hostility after the King has saluted his friend. It is the lords who take the initiative and Mortimer who, first, wounds Gaveston and then forces his way into the King's presence to denounce his disastrous foreign policy. Thus, from a complete lull, the counter-action breaks out in its most violent form. Compared to the similar situation in I, 4 the development of the play is marked by the change from threats and more or less peaceful means to immediate action and war. The section of this scene which is devoted to the open conflict is again followed by one of comparative quiet: after the indignant Kent has left his brother, Baldock and Spencer are accepted into Edward's service, and the King thinks not of war but of the marriage of Gaveston to his niece. The interest once more shifts to the private sphere of life and the tempo slackens.

Action is resumed with increasing speed in the following scenes (II, 3 — III, 1): they sketch the renewed and successful attempt of the barons to separate the King from his minion — this time not by written order but

by an act of force. The assault on Tynmouth Castle and the succeeding separation of Edward and Gaveston is represented against the background of Isabella's feelings: the infatuated King neglects her entirely and it is she who directs the peers in their pursuit of the favourite. Her two short soliloquies interrupt the speed of the action and create a fine rubato movement. The private and the political elements are skilfully combined and the first serves as a lyrical or emotional foil to the latter. At the same time the Queen's affection is shown to shift definitely towards Mortimer, although Marlowe has taken care not to hurry this process, as is witnessed by her resolution in the second soliloquy once more to attempt to gain Edward's favour.

It is characteristic of the technique used in this play that the author has prepared this development from the moment when the Queen first appears on the stage in I, 4. Here she is immediately addressed by Mortimer and it is to him that she speaks last. The accusations of Edward and Gaveston concerning her intimacy with the young lord — which have no foundation in the play so far — and her choosing Mortimer as a means to change the minds of the peers, are the stages which lead up to the open declaration of love in this scene. From now on she ceases to clog the activity of the lords and becomes, next to Mortimer, the main antagonist of the King and a decisive factor in his overthrow.

Marlowe has skilfully regulated the movement of Gaveston's downfall in II, 5 and 6 where, immediately after his capture, Arundel asks the barons for a last interview of the King with their prisoner. The author thus brings about, on the one hand, a conflict among the nobles similar to that in I, 4, where the Queen entreats them to recall Gaveston, on the other hand a slight delay of the counter-action and a corresponding upward movement of the cause of Edward and his friend. The lull at the end of II, 5 where Pembroke and Arundel, in whose custody the prisoner has been left, decide to visit the former's wife, is immediately followed by the vigorous movement of III, 1: Warwick forces Pembroke's servants to yield Gaveston up to him and has him hurriedly put to death. The considerable space Marlowe has allowed for this episode is fully justified when we consider its rhythmical function in the pattern of the play. It can be understood as an experiment in the regulation of dramatic speed which is repeated — on a larger scale — in the series of scenes representing the hero's fall from power.

III, 2 develops with increasing speed. Edward is uncertain about Gaveston's fate and apprehends the worst. The two Spencers are trying, not without success, to rouse him from his dejection. The Queen takes leave to go to France and thus introduces at an early date the territory which is to serve as a jumping-board for the final onset of the counter-action. When Arundel announces the death of Gaveston, the King temporarily relapses into his humour:

O shall I speak, or shall I sigh and die!<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> III, 2, 122.

It is again young Spencer who urges him to resist so that Edward vows a terrible vengeance for the death of his friend. When therefore the rebels' herald asks him to deliver up his new minion, he sends the messenger back, promising to follow 'with sword and fire at (his) heels'. He is now the revenger of Gaveston and bent on swift and ruthless action.

The next scene opens with a breathing pause during the battle of Boroughbridge. It shows Edward ready to 'pour vengeance with (his) sword On those proud rebels', fretting to get back into action. The defiant speeches of the leaders of the two hosts which follow lead the conflict at once to its intellectual pitch. The King will sacrifice everything, even his country, to revenge; he is firmness itself and resolved 'rather to Make England's civil towns huge heaps of stones' than to give in. This 'desperate and unnatural resolution', as Warwick calls it, leads to immediate victory and in the following section of the scene Edward is shown as the implacable judge of his adversaries.

It is again Mortimer on whom Marlowe focuses the interest by placing his speech last when the barons are led to their respective dooms:

What, Mortimer! can ragged stony walls  
Immure thy virtue that aspires to heaven?  
No, Edward, England's scourge, it may not be;  
Mortimer's hope surmounts his fortune far.

The cause of his rebellion has been removed by Gaveston's death, but imprisonment becomes a new cause for further resistance — if we are allowed to speak of a cause, for he rather follows an irrational yearning which revolts against the prison-bars and will not be satisfied until he has annihilated the tyrant. His aristocratic pride which made him hate the upstart Gaveston, transforms itself into the deadly hatred of the soaring intellect against its oppressor.

To make Edward's victory more complete Spencer, in the last section of III, 3, frustrates the efforts of the Queen to win the French King for her cause. The counter-action thus is at a standstill at the beginning of act IV, the heart of the resistance lying 'immured' in the Tower. Then it gathers force slowly.

Marlowe begins the new act with two scenes which are marked by their parallel structure — an *andante* followed by an *allegro* — and by a significant increase of size and implication. Kent, in a soliloquy which is set in a fine lyrical frame — 'Fair blows the wind for France: blow, gentle gale' — is waiting for Mortimer to escape from the Tower. When he arrives they set sail for France. Here the Queen is shown in a state of dejection after the French King's refusal of her demand for help. As soon as Mortimer joins her and Hainault, the action takes a directed course and gains speed.

In IV, 3 the King revels in his victory and he makes up his mind at once

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<sup>9</sup> III, 3, 71 ff.

when he hears of the activity of his enemies in France. Like his antagonist Mortimer he thirsts for immediate action and expresses his impatience in the time-devouring verses:

Gallop apace, bright Phoebus, through the sky,  
And dusky night, in rusty iron car,  
Between you both shorten the time, I pray,  
That I may see that most desired day,  
When we may meet these traitors in the field.<sup>10</sup>

The onward urge of these words is at once bridled by the speeches of the Queen and Mortimer who, in the following scene, land in England. It is significant that the latter no longer primarily thinks in terms of action but of policy. His verse has lost the youthful ring of the earlier scenes and it is strange to hear him gently rebuke the Queen:

if you be a warrior  
You must not grow so passionate in speeches.<sup>11</sup>

And then follows his own speech on the legality of their enterprise which, by its formal coldness, rings false and shows the Machiavellian man of power hiding behind the mask of the loyal subject. As long as the King was governed by his minions, the sympathy of the audience was rather drawn towards his antagonist. Now Mortimer is shown as a usurper and therefore appears in a less favourable light. The development of his character should, no doubt, be understood primarily as a necessity to which the dramatist had to submit in order to have his play performed on the public stage; it is less motivated by the lapse of time because Marlowe, at least up to this moment, does not create the impression that a period of many years is covered by the play. The perfunctory delineation of Mortimer's development causes a flaw in his dramatic portrait which shows that the author was not interested in this aspect but rather hurriedly proceeded to what was of more concern to him: Mortimer's Machiavellian rule and the tragedy of the hero<sup>12</sup>.

Thus he does not dwell on Edward's attempt to oppose his enemies but represents, in the rapid opening of IV, 5, his reluctant flight to Ireland. Then, after the quiet movement of Kent's soliloquy, who is shown to waver in his allegiance and thereby prepares us, in time, for his part in act V, we see the victorious antagonist having the old Spencer put to death and giving order, in spite of the compassion of Kent, the Queen, and the Prince for the fugitive King, to trace him to his hiding place. It is again Mortimer who represents the driving force of the counter-action which, in the course of this scene, gradually gathers speed.

<sup>10</sup> IV. 3. 45 ff.

<sup>11</sup> IV. 4. 15-6.

<sup>12</sup> The Machiavellian element in certain of Marlowe's characters has been emphasized by M. Poirier in *Christopher Marlowe* (London 1951) (see my review in *E.S.*, June 1953).



IV, 6 opens quietly with the King seeking 'this life contemplative' in the Welsh Abbey of Neath. That the lull in the action is going to be of short duration only and the calm introduces the tempest, is shown by Edward's haunting suspicion and the uneasy remark of Spencer about 'a gloomy fellow in a mead below' who 'gave a long look after (them)'. When the hero's spirits have drooped lowest and he puts his head 'laden with mickle care' in the abbot's lap, wishing he may 'never again lift up this drooping head', the emissaries of Mortimer, led by the very mower who had watched the fugitives, intrude into this pseudo-idyll which, by its unique mixture of quiet and unrest, of fearful apprehension and an intense craving for security, belongs to the finest rubato scenes of the play. Edward is separated from his friends and forced back into the political strife. This time he stands alone.

Act V witnesses the continuation, on the one hand, of the slow but steady decline of the hero and, on the other, the gradual rise to supreme power of the antagonists. In the abdication scene we still hear the Edward who could scarcely await Mortimer's coming to England in order to crush him. He compares himself to the 'imperial lion' who

Highly scorning that the lowly earth  
Should drink his blood, mounts up into the air.<sup>13</sup>

He feels 'pent and mew'd in a prison' while his wings carry him 'soaring up to heaven'. Thus he strongly resembles his antagonist when put in prison himself in III, 3. At the same time, however, his weaker self is ready to submit to the pressure of the situation and to deliver the crown to the emissaries of his enemy. We have been prepared for this struggle between his nobler and weaker selves already in I, 4 where, in a manner as showy as here, he oscillated between furious protest against, and submission to, the exigencies of the hour. But the object or alter ego for which he struggles is no longer his friend whom he stands in danger to lose, but his crown. Like Faustus he clings to something which does not belong to him any more and, like the magician, he asks the 'watches of the elements' to stand still. 'All times and seasons, rest you at a stay,'<sup>14</sup> he cries, but time, for Edward as for Faustus, moves on relentlessly and cannot be stopped. Here it is not marked by the striking of a clock but by the short and pressing remarks of Mortimer's emissaries which interrupt the monologue. Having changed his mind six times, the King hands over the crown and expects death as a welcome deliverer.

The steady decline of the hero's fortunes is further interrupted — or lengthened — by the futile effort of Kent to rescue him, for which we have been prepared by his change of sympathy in IV, 5 and by the mention made of his attempt in V, 2. A last delay in the movement towards the catastrophe occurs in the murder scene where Edward, harping upon his

<sup>13</sup> V. 1. 13-4.

<sup>14</sup> V. 1. 67.

suffering and trying to bribe Lightborne, strives to escape the clutches of the murderer who is feigning compassion and tears until, throwing off his human mask, he suddenly reveals his murderous intention to his victim and executes it with all speed — an action which is all the more effective because of the delay.

It has been generally recognised that Edward's end is hardly heroic: it is actually as unheroic and pitiful as that of Faustus and reveals, when held against his valorous behaviour in the struggle with Mortimer, the full extent of his bipolar character which mirrors the two-fold vision of man in Renaissance philosophy. Both heroes give a truer, more comprehensive and, at the same time, more objective and dramatic picture of the Renaissance man than Tamburlaine, who illustrates only the optimistic and modern alternative.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime (V, 2), Mortimer has further strengthened his position, first by taking the young Prince from the protection of his uncle Kent, secondly by giving Lightborne the ambiguous order to kill the imprisoned King, and thirdly by having Prince Edward crowned. He expects to rule through the puppet king and he proves his superiority by sentencing Kent against the will of his sovereign. The latter's resistance, however, when compared to the feeble attempt of the Prince in V, 2 to stay under his uncle's protection, shows that the forces antagonistic to Mortimer's rule are increasing and concentrating upon the young King. Marlowe has prepared us for his part by introducing him early into the action (III, 2) and stressing certain features in his character: thus in IV, 2 it is he who speaks affectionately of his father while the Queen and Mortimer are taking the first steps towards his ruin.

In the final scene of the play, which follows hard upon the hero's death, Mortimer feels he has reached the goal of his aspiration:

As for myself, I stand as Jove's huge tree,  
And others are but shrubs compar'd to me.  
All tremble at my name, and I fear none.<sup>16</sup>

From this zenith of his power he is pushed down by the young King who, supported by the nobles, confronts him and the Queen with a determination which is not to be shaken, though it is distinguished by its humanity.

Thus the play ends with the rapid rise to triumph of the forces which represent poetic justice. Looked at from a distance, *Edward II* shows — in the first two acts or, more exactly, until III, 2 — the struggle for Gaveston with the culminating points for the hero in I, 1 and at the end of I, 4, and the lowest points in the middle of scenes I, 4 and III, 2. In the latter scene the struggle for Gaveston is ended and immediately followed by Edward's revenge which is achieved at the end of act III

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Th. Spencer: *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (1945) and E. M. W. Tillyard: *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943).

<sup>16</sup> V. 6. 11 ff.

where, as in a classical tragedy, the hero seems to have secured the victory over his antagonists. The play about Gaveston now changes into the struggle for power which is caused, directly, by this very vengeance (itself rooted in Edward's love of Gaveston) and indirectly by the change of Mortimer's character. During act IV the counter-action gathers force and approaches its climax at the beginning of the last scene of the play where Mortimer exults in his absolute power. This gradual rise is accompanied by the slow decline of the hero's fortunes which, after many oscillations, reach their lowest point in the death scene. Then we witness the swift rise to power of the hero's son which is accompanied, again in a contrasted sense, by the sudden fall of the antagonists.

In spite of a certain weakness of the link between the two movements of the action, the play forms an organic whole. Its structure is characterized by what may be called dramatic rhythm. It would be easy to represent this movement, which I have tried to express in the terms of the drama and — tentatively — of music, graphically by lines tracing, by their varying inclination, the speed with which the actions led by the hero and his antagonist proceed. The result would be, roughly speaking, the rapid fall and rise of the hero's line in the first act, the much slower decline in act II which ends in III, 2 and is followed by a vigorous rise in the second half of this act. The last two acts show the undulating falling line of the hero's fate, to which is attached, in the last scene, a steep rise. The line thus described would be accompanied, but in a contrasted sense, by that of the antagonist. The play conceived in this manner would consist of three successive waves and counterwaves which differ from one another only by their growing size. Translating the dramatic structure into terms of music, we may say that the first act gives the tragic theme, which is followed by two variations in each of which the theme is brought nearer to its tragic conclusion.

Thus *Edward II* forms a strongly and closely knit whole from which no part, however loosely joined to the body of the play it may seem, can be separated without either changing the rhythm of the action or weakening its logical structure. It is true that Marlowe might have used a different technique altogether to obtain this result, and given it more outward unity by using, for instance, the messenger's report of classical drama. But the effect would have been entirely different and *Edward II* would not have been acted on the Elizabethan stage for which it was written. Marlowe knew what was expected of him and represented all the episodes of the play on the stage, i.e. he adopted the *ab ovo* technique of the popular drama. Although he selected from the vast body of material offered to him by the sources only those incidents which had a direct bearing on the gradual unfolding of Edward's tragedy, the amount he used is nevertheless enormous when we consider the length of the play. He conquered the difficulties by speed and concentration.

The structural unit of *Edward II* is neither the act nor the scene, but what may be called the scenic section, and in this respect Marlowe was



not an innovator but could follow the example set by Kyd in *The Spanish Tragedy*.<sup>17</sup> Yet even from this point of view the difference between the two plays is far greater than their similarity. *The Spanish Tragedy* is a very slow drama in which the action is carried forward simultaneously on three different levels: on the political, where it seems to develop slowly towards a happy ending, namely the marriage of Bel-Imperia and Balthasar; on the private, where Hieronymo gradually changes from a passive into an active hero; and on a level where the fate of Lorenzo's servants is shown.<sup>18</sup> Action and counter-action only meet at the end of the play in the catastrophe. In *Edward II* the private and the political spheres of the action are not separated but mingle from beginning to end, and we witness a rapid series of clashes between the hero and his antagonist. The structure of the two plays is entirely different: the scenic units in *The Spanish Tragedy* help to erect a stately and three-dimensional building, whereas in *Edward II* they form a rapid succession which creates the impression not of space but of time.

The main functions of the scenic units in *Edward II* are the regulation of the rhythm of the action and the reception of a vast material. The action passes swiftly from one unit to the next, and often the impression of speed is heightened by the abrupt opening of scenes which suggests that the action represented has been going on for some time before. The beginning of the play shows Gaveston reading the King's letter. He limits himself to picking out the two most significant lines and proceeds straight to the heart of the matter. Without turning back to what has passed he looks ahead to what is to come. The next section presents the king in the full course of a hot dispute with the barons.

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| K. Edw. | Lancaster !   |
| Lan.    | My lord ?   |
| Gav.    | That Earl of Lancaster do I abhor. ( <i>Aside.</i>                            |
| K. Edw. | Will you not grant me this ? In spite of them                                 |
|         | I'll have my will; and these two Mortimers,                                   |
|         | That cross me thus, shall know I am displeas'd. ( <i>Aside.</i> <sup>19</sup> |

The essence of the dispute which has taken place before they enter, is contained in these few lines which introduce the hero. We do not not know what his will is — but that is of secondary importance: he is crossed in his will by Lancaster and the Mortimers, and Gaveston by his asides shows that he hates them. It is his will the king will have, and it is one of the men he names that will block it. The dramatic conflict is foreshadowed in this breathless passage, the beginning of the drama properly speaking.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the excellent study by P. W. Biesterfeldt: *Die dramatische Technik Thomas Kyds* (1936). It speaks for the speed of Marlowe's play that its 24 scenes fall into no less than 90 shorter units, while B. counts only 77 units in the 31 scenes of the original version of the *Sp. Tr.*

<sup>18</sup> A fourth level would of course be that from which the ghosts watch the play.

<sup>19</sup> I. 1. 74 ff.



It has been noticed that Marlowe, true to his classical training and contrary to the stage customs of his time, does not represent the traffic of the battles on the stage. Thus, of the battle of Boroughbridge he only gives a breathing-space filled in with the defiant speeches of the leaders, and the result: the condemnation of the rebels. The second armed conflict between the King and Mortimer he omits completely and proceeds straight to the moment when Edward and his favourites 'shape [their] course to Ireland'. What he gains by this technique is again speed and concentration: the attention of the audience is not diverted by noisy 'alarums and excursions' but remains fixed on the intellectual conflict.

Marlowe's grip on the attention of the audience is further tightened by the reduction to a minimum of the elements creating relief from the forward urge of the action. He gives us neither comic scenes nor descriptions but concise soliloquies which contain a lyrical element, and short scenic sections which do not allow for a lengthy breathing-space. The dynamic force of the play is intensified by the almost complete lack of retrospective passages and descriptions. Rarely do the characters look back on their past experience: their attention — and with it that of the audience — is bent on the immediate future, and when they remember the past it is only in short snatches like Edward's

Tell Isabel, the queen, I look'd not thus,  
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,  
And there unhors'd the Duke of Cleremont.<sup>20</sup>

Here, of course, the reminiscence has a dramatic function: by its associations with glorious deeds of chivalry it creates a sharp contrast to the miserable situation in which the King now lives who is timorously facing his murderer.

It is the powerful rhythm of the action which captures the mind of the modern reader perhaps more than the rational exposition of causes and motives. The sacrifice of the earlier heroes' aspiring minds and of the poetry depending on it is compensated for by this dramatic element, and what the characters lack in that respect they gain in outline and impetuosity. The cosmic element gives way to the dynamic; lyrical poetry is transformed into the dramatic poetry of action.

Once we have realised the dynamic quality of this play, the relationship to Shakespeare's first chronicle plays becomes clearer. In both we witness the repeated and violent clash of opposed characters, and the development of Richard, the later Duke of Gloucester, resembles that of Mortimer. The general structure of *3 Henry VI* shows the rise and fall of the conflicting parties in much the same way as that of *Edward II*. But the bareness and onward sweep of the latter play contrast strongly with the breadth of the former, the concise directness of the verse which Marlowe uses here with the exuberant imagery and rhetoric of the early Shakespeare.

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<sup>20</sup> V. 5. 67 ff.

It is probable that Shakespeare wrote — or rather revised<sup>21</sup> — his plays first, but when he sat down to work he had the clash of defiant speeches and the rhetoric of *Tamburlaine* before him and the aspiring mind, not of the cosmic poet *Tamburlaine*, but of the man who is fascinated by the glittering crown much in the same way as his own Duchess of Gloucester, Jack Cade, the old Duke of York and his two sons. Marlowe, in *Edward II*, seems to have been influenced by the dramatic structure of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* — whoever was responsible for that — but it was Shakespeare's turn to fall under the spell of *Edward II* when he wrote *Richard II*, although the total result was something entirely different.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps he got nearest to the dramatic method of *Edward II* in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*<sup>23</sup>: here we find the dynamic quality of Marlowe's play, and many things besides which we do not get in *Edward II*.

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## Reviews

*The Honest mans Fortune*, a Critical Edition of MS Dyce 9 (1625). By J. GERRITSEN. (Groningen Studies in English, 3. Editor: R. W. Zandvoort.) cxi + 188 pp. Groningen, J. B. Wolters. 1952. Gld. 12.90.

*The Honest mans Fortune* is one of the works of Fletcher and his collaborators of which two substantive versions are preserved, neither derived from the other; it is also a play about which opinions have varied considerably as to the number and identities of the authors involved. An editor's tasks may accordingly be broadly distinguished as textual and literary.

The two substantive texts are that printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647 (F1), which is not of excessive rarity, and that of the Dyce manuscript at South Kensington (MS), written by a scribe who used to be known to us as 'Jhon' (though now proved by Dr. Gerritsen to be the book-keeper Edward Knight), and licensed by Sir Henry Herbert in 1625.

<sup>21</sup> The revision theory has recently been defended with great success by Dover Wilson in the introductions to his edition of *Henry VI* (1952).

<sup>22</sup> Among the main parallels in the structure of the plays I should reckon the facts (1) that *Richard II* is the first chronicle play of Shakespeare's built from beginning to end on the conflict between the hero and one antagonist only, (2) that this conflict is represented by several variations of the tragic theme which, step by step, lead to the catastrophe.

<sup>23</sup> This aspect of *Antony and Cleopatra* has been fully treated by Rudolf Binder in *Der dramatische Rhythmus in Shakespeares 'Antonius und Cleopatra'* (1939) (see my review in *E. S.*, Aug. 1943).

Neither text has been reprinted in modern times, though Dyce recorded variant readings of the MS in his modernised edition of 1843, and Waller recorded verbal variations of F1 from the derivative text of the second folio (1679) which he reprinted in 1912. Dr. Gerritsen has aimed to combine a scrupulously full and accurate presentation of the MS and record of all F1 variants in words, verse-lineation, and significant punctuation and spelling, with a text based on a critical examination of all this evidence.

Knight was also the scribe of Fletcher's *Bonduca*, recently edited by Sir Walter Greg for the Malone Society, and it is interesting to compare the two editions where the problems are similar. Knight's writing is generally clear, and ambiguity of occasional minuscules and of the distinction between some majuscules and their minuscules is no greater than in many Secretary hands. Dr. Gerritsen has been at pains to record 'a number of possibly significant breaks in the flow of the script' (p. cx) but notes that these irregularities are not found in the 'much more closely, and therefore slowly written' *Bonduca* (p. xxxii). The most important difference is in the treatment of Knight's punctuation. He often wrote a distinct and sometimes heavily-tailed comma where a full stop is needed, and *vice versa*, and between these clear extremes there is a continuous gradation running through less distinct and almost indistinguishable marks. This characteristic is common to both manuscripts. The impossibility of deciding every time which printed mark would best represent what Knight wrote drove Sir Walter Greg to devise a wholly artificial convention of reproducing each alike by a period with a space before it. Since this looks like no recognisable system of punctuation it can mislead no one. Dr. Gerritsen follows the more usual course of being guided by the sense, and since he has announced what he is doing he ought not to mislead anyone either. But he does run into difficulties where the sense is an insufficient guide or is disputable (see for example his note on II. ii. 152-61), and he has often to print a mark which Knight, whatever his intention, certainly did not write. To take a page of MS almost at random, in fol. 7<sup>v</sup> clearly and heavily marked commas are printed as periods in I. ii. 58, 63, 65, 68, 80, 89 and 92 and clear periods as commas in I. ii. 81 (after 'man') and 87. In I. ii. 80 the mark after 'waye' is more like a period than a comma, and should perhaps have been so printed. I have no doubt that Dr. Gerritsen's procedure is the right one to follow, but it would have been well to warn the reader more emphatically of the exceptional difficulties presented by Knight's hand.

The two obvious differences between the substantive texts can be quickly disposed of. F1 has a short scene (V. iii) of chatter between servants laying out a banquet where MS has only a stage direction, and the final scene in which the infatuated fop Laverdure has apparently to receive on stage some palpable physical demonstration that his supposed mistress is a man appears in different versions. These throw no light on the hundreds of lesser variants which are found throughout.

The editor's reconstruction of the history of the text is summarily this:

- (1) Each of the five authors (on whom see below) wrote out his own act;



I do not understand that previous sketches or false starts are necessarily excluded, but the theory requires that at least in places the author was still in the process of composition as he wrote. (2) These five scripts were assembled to form what Dr. Gerritsen calls 'fowle papers' or 'Copy' (a term which, with a capital 'C', I prefer as more non-committal). (3) Some theatrical cuts and prompter's notes were made in this Copy, yielding a state comparable to that of the extant manuscript of Heywood's *The Captives*. (4) Transcription of the players' parts was begun. (5) A working prompt copy was prepared and licensed in 1623. (6) By 1625 that original prompt copy had been lost and a fresh one, the extant MS, was prepared from the 'fowle papers' Copy and re-licensed. (7) In 1647 the printer received not this new prompt copy but the 'fowle papers' Copy, which had in the intervening thirty years got rather worn in the margins and toward the end.

It is not practicable to do justice to all Dr. Gerritsen's alert and judicious arguments; two points are especially important as leading to further conclusions. If each act was in its author's holograph the reading of the Copy, where it can be clearly inferred, may claim extra authority. And if the five component manuscripts were all simultaneously in the state required by the theory then authorship must have been divided in substantial units, probably acts, and the play must have been written once for all and not subjected to one or more revisions for revivals. I do not share Dr. Gerritsen's confidence that each of the five acts was in its author's autograph copy, for his own evidence shows that confusions arising from the spellings 'yt', 'yf', 'yt' and 'yet', common in Tourneur's Act I, also occur in Acts III and V by other authors, and another feature common to all five acts in Copy is its repeated failure to divide the lines of verse correctly. It is possible that all five authors were slovenly in writing out their own perfectly good verse, but it is natural to look for some common factor, such as the intervention of a transcriber. If this were so we should have to assume that the copyist — who might have been one of the authors (perhaps Tourneur, whose habits seem to match) — made stylistic improvements at discretion, but that seems not unlikely. The authors knew that at some stage a scribe would be tidying up for the prompt copy, and they may have left him puzzles they would not have left a printer.

This would leave the editor rather more liberty in dealing with established readings of the Copy, and I should myself be tempted to take the argument a step further and suggest that the 'improvements' made by Knight in the extant MS were in fact genuine improvements for which he had delegated authority and which the authors would have wished to see adopted. When F1 and MS differ Dr. Gerritsen often introduces a cruder reading from F1 to replace a suspected scribal improvement in MS, and I am not sure that he is right. Even he is not always rigorous about this. He sometimes knowingly accepts Knight's improvements (e.g. V. iv. 51); he constantly re-arranges prose or false verse according to his own



judgement (giving at III. ii. 1-5 the eminently sensible reason that 'it evidently is verse'); he adopts Dyce's (unpublished) conjecture at III. ii. 39 against the agreement of F1, MS, and all earlier editors (including Dyce himself); he even prints at IV. ii. 58 a spelling which he is sure was not in the Copy 'in consideration to the reader.' That last is not a concession to be made in an edition like this, but for the most part Dr. Gerritsen's tolerance is commendable.

In discussing the authorship Dr. Gerritsen has rightly ignored many disagreements and changes of opinion which arose in the last century, before all the possibilities had been canvassed or the evidence fully assessed, and has concentrated on later judgements and fresh explorations of new evidence. But if the hasty conclusions of the pioneers are tactfully ignored some unhelpful features of their methods linger on, although the paraphernalia of metrical statistics, parallel passages, vocabulary tests, and Dr. A. C. Partridge's new grammatical test have been compiled afresh and with some new features. In his metrical section (pp. lxxiii-lxxxii) Dr. Gerritsen tabulates scene by scene the percentages (but not the numbers) of double endings and of nine species of what he calls 'metrical inversions' (meaning thereby any substitution for an iambic foot, whether by inversion, omission, or addition). His tables give the number of inversions per hundred lines and the number of each of the nine species per hundred inversions. His final essay in rarefaction is to summarise for each scene the 'ratio of double endings to inversions'. I question the value of this last refinement. In what are (very loosely) called Grammatical Tables (p. lxxxiii) we are given scene by scene for the two texts the number (not the percentage) of occurrences of the spellings *goe/go*, *doe/do*, *-ea/-ei-*, and *-d/-t/-ed*; the forms *has/hath*, *does/doth*, *-s/-th* (in other verbs), *them/em* and *yelyou*; and the use of the expletive *do*. For their immediate purpose these tables on the whole support the metrical ones, without adding much.

It also emerges from them that forms and usages are less variable between F1 and MS than are spellings, and are therefore more reliable clues to authorship. The indiscriminate mingling of all together is a heritage from pioneering days, and so, it might be suggested, is Dr. Gerritsen's distrust of parallel passages, which he declines to tabulate (p. lxxxviii). From their beginning in Boyle parallels in poetic thought and diction have been hopelessly involved with mechanical repetitions of stock phrases; and Dugdale Sykes's vocabulary test, which as Dr. Gerritsen rightly notes (p. lxxii) requires concordances to all the dramatists if it is to be reliable, has too often been simply dumped in with the rest.

If he has left these mechanical tests pretty much where they were Dr. Gerritsen is admirable in his appreciation of the more humane literary characteristics of the play which defy tabulation. From characterisation and stage technique he makes out a most persuasive case for Tourneur as the author of Act I and Field of Act IV and for suspending judgement on Acts II and III. His final division is this:

- Act I      Tourneur. 'I cannot offer any really clear evidence that the first act of our play is Tourneur's, yet in my mind I have very little doubt that this is the case.' (P. lxxxix.)
- Act II } Doubtful. 'Of Webster's and Massinger's shares in the play
- Act III } I am not at all convinced.' (P. xci.)
- Act IV    Field. 'That the fourth [act] is Field's I think there can be little doubt.' (P. xciii.)
- Act V    Fletcher. Generally agreed. (P. xciv.)

From that judgement I should not myself dissent, and I shall be surprised if the literary arguments about acts I and IV do not influence future critics as they have me. There is still a substantial difference (despite some measure of agreement) between Dr. Gerritsen's view and those of Dugdale Sykes and E. H. C. Oliphant, which he records on pp. lxix-lxx. I am doubtful whether Dr. Gerritsen's arguments are likely to convert believers in minute subdivision and repeated revision, but at least this admirable edition has placed the argument for the first time on a solid base of known fact. That will not have to be done again.

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*Longfellow's 'Golden Legend' and Goethe's 'Faust'.* By CARL HAMMER JR. (Louisiana State University Studies Nr 2.) Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1952. 36 pp. Price \$ 0.50.

It stands to reason that among the works of Henry W. Longfellow, who had an intimate knowledge of, and a great love for German literature, deep traces should be found of Goethe's 'Weltdichtung'. He translated many German poems and among them many of Goethe's. It was he that held, only five years after Goethe's death, at Harvard University the first academic lectures about *Faust* held anywhere about it; until 1854 they were repeated every year. One finds the most marked traces in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, the dramatised version of Hartmann von Aue's epic poem *Der arme Heinrich*. Deviating from his source, Longfellow, in that poem, makes Lucifer act, sometimes unmasked, then again under various disguises, which makes a close contact with Faustic episodes unavoidable. All the more forcibly we are struck by the remarkable fact that this relationship between *The Golden Legend* and *Faust*, although assumed since 1853 and partially indicated by Thomas Moody Campbell, James Taft Hatfield and others, should only have been fully elaborated in the study with which we are here concerned.

It goes without saying that equal importance is not to be accorded to each of the numerous parallels cited by the learned author; from many textual similarities in the two poetical works under comparison there emanates such an entirely different spirit that doubt arises if one is justified in speaking of influence being exercised (e.g. when 'Es irrt der Mensch, so lang' er strebt' and 'Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange, Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst' are compared with Uriel's 'songs of The march and battle of man's life, And for the suffering and the strife, I give him fortitude'). On the whole, however, one has to agree with the author when he says that the 'parallels or resemblances' are 'too numerous to be discounted or restricted to such brief mention as in earlier studies.'

I am even of opinion that one could add to Hammer's examples. I may cite a few. Part of the commencement of the scene at the Devil's Bridge (the motive to be found *Faust* vs. 10121) contacts with the geological scene at the commencement of Act IV ('Hochgebirg'). Elsie's remark about the 'little cloud, that, borne aloft So tenderly by the wind, floats fast away Over the snowy peaks! It seems to me The body of St. Catherine, borne by angels!' has evidently been suggested by the cloud-scene with the apparition of Helena and Aurora-Gretchen which occur at the commencement of this act. Prince Henry's words about the Blessed Virgin in the scene 'At the Foot of the Alps' contain a feeble reflection of the hymn of 'Doctor Marianus' from the Ascension-scene ('all hearts are touched and softened at her name'). In the scene 'At Sea' the mention of the 'Saint Elm's stars' is surely suggested by the passage in *Faust* about the 'behende Flämmchen der Dioskuren, bei denen alle Schiffer schwuren' (*Faust* 10596, 10600 f.). In the scene 'The School of Salerno' the thesis of 'Doktor Serafino': 'The spoken word is the Incarnation' is surely suggested by Faust's effort to translate the gospel of St. John ('Im Anfang war das Wort': vs 1224); in the same scene Lucifer's reaction to 'an odour of innocence, and of prayer, And of love, and faith that never fails, Such as the fresh young heart inhales, Before it begins to wither and harden! I cannot breathe such an atmosphere —' is a clear reminiscence of the manner how in the scene 'Grablegung' the 'garstige Geklimper' (11685), the 'bübisch-mädchenhafte Gestümper, Wie frömmelnder Geschmack sich's lieben mag' (11687) and how the 'Rosen, ihr blendenden, Balsam verschwendenden' (11699 f.) of the Angels strike Mephistopheles and his host. In the last scene the story of the ring of the dead Fastrada and Charlemagne's faithfulness is a distinct parallel to Gretchen's song about the 'König in Thule' and the beaker of his dead love (*Faust* 2759 ff.).

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*The Savages of America.* A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. By ROY HARVEY PEARCE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. Pp. 252. \$4.00.

Despite its title this book is not primarily a study of the Indian, although of necessity an account of the Indian is included. Nor is it a study of the Indian in literature, although much discussion of that theme is germane. In essence it is a study of the idea of savagism, of which the Indian was supposedly the symbol and for which imaginative literature provided a vehicle for the written or artistic image. Roy Harvey Pearce's thesis is that since Americans faced a strange and savage race from the beginning, they had to study it, to try to civilize it, and at the last, because the race proved refractory, to destroy it. In the process, and here is the crux of the author's argument, Americans observing the Indian before 1850 learned more about themselves than about the Indian because they took him as a symbol of that savagism from which they had escaped in the distant past and to which of course they had no intention of returning. The American attitude, the author is fond of repeating, was one of mixed pity and censure.

The book is divided into three sections and relates to the time span 1609—1851. The first section of roughly fifty pages traces Indian policy in such colonies as Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. One might remark, incidentally, that the 'America' of the title means the United States, as Professor Pearce ignores Mexico and its Aztec civilization and makes few references to Canada. He does not even cite the French Jesuit Charlevoix's important book on the aborigines of the continental interior. The second section of six chapters deals with some of the facts of Indian policy from the Revolution to 1851 as well as with some of the literature reflecting either the actual or the idealized Indian. The third brief section, or afterthought, reiterates the main thesis and suggests the need for another point of view.

The book reflects wide reading not only in the literature usually considered relevant to the Indian but in captivity narratives, popular fiction, heroic poetry, and philosophy. The weakness of the book is in the questionable validity or significance of much of the evidence and in the fallacies of the argument. The author constantly asserts that Americans prior to 1851 were conscious and literate about the place and fate of the Indians and that both analysis and speculation preceded action. On the contrary, pioneers are opportunists, not academic theorists. The earliest immigrants to America found the Indian when they landed. He had to be reckoned with as a literal fact, not as an avatar from the past. Like the climate, or the forest, or the wild beasts, he was a physical obstacle to their advancement. The frontiersmen had precious little time to worry about abstract ideas of savagism or symbols of these ideas.

Again the author constantly asserts that by the 1830's, certainly by the 1850's, the Indian was virtually dead (see pp. 73, 91, 178, 192). It is true



that many thinking men by the mid-century could have predicted that in the unequal struggle between white and red, the red was bound to lose (at the time of Pontiac's rebellion in 1763 there was presumably some doubt about it). But western tribes remained independent and belligerent until much later. Certainly the white men who died in the revolt of the Sioux in Minnesota in 1862 or at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876 were unaware that the Indian had long since passed out of existence. How, to quibble, would Professor Pearce account for the fact that the Indian population of the United States is currently increasing?

The evidence cited presents no convincing proof of the author's thesis, ingeniously argued as it is, rather the untypical remarks of certain speakers. One might well doubt whether Samuel Smith or Jedediah Morse or even Thomas Jefferson spoke for the men who knew Indians at first-hand, not in theory. Again the survey of the portrait of the Indian in imaginative literature demonstrates well enough that *most* of the Indians in drama and fiction were stereotyped, either idealized and impossible noble savages as in the early musical plays, or ignoble fiends and villains like Magua in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*. But the author is unwilling to admit that *any* of the Indian characters, those in the tales of W. J. Snelling for example, are objectively true.

A few factual errors must also be pointed out. George Catlin, Pennsylvania-born, was not an Englishman as Professor Pearce claims (p. 111). William Bartram, not his father John, was the author of the celebrated *Travels*, which appeared first in 1791, not the next year (p. 142). Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* was published in 1839, not nine years earlier (p. 121), although in the preceding paragraph the right date is given. Incidentally the author is certainly not responsible for the fact that in the edition under review, pp. 159-162 are missing.

*The Savages of America* is a provocative but unconvincing book. And certainly one of its tenets, that the Indians were savages and represented savagism, does not require extended exposition. Its interest lies in the author's account of American efforts to convert, civilize, and imaginatively recreate the Indian, not in the contention that civilized men in studying the Indian learned mostly new aspects of themselves.

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## Current Literature, 1952

### II. Criticism and Biography

In the field of criticism, biography and literary history the year 1952 has a good harvest to show, especially on the writers and movements from the time of the Romantic Revival onwards, though if we exclude one or two notable exceptions the emphasis has been on prose rather than on poetry or drama. The most important 'background' book to appear during the period is *The Victorian Temper*, by Jerome Hamilton Buckley (Allen & Unwin, 30/—), a careful, comprehensive and scholarly work which surveys the basis and the chief trends of English culture throughout the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century. The general conclusion that Mr Buckley reaches — that the term 'Victorian' is meaningless if it is taken to imply that taste, standards and values remained the same throughout the sixty-odd years of the Queen's reign — is not new. Over the past two decades a number of writers have demonstrated that the age was one of stresses and strains, of conflicting views and philosophies and of developing outlook: the Victorianism of 1887 (the year of the Jubilee) was not that of 1847. Mr Buckley's work reinforces this view; but it does something more. It is valuable chiefly, it seems to the present writer, for three achievements. First it shows that if Victorianism, when looked at historically and chronologically, was progressive and dynamic, at any given period it was far more homogeneous than has been the spirit of any age since. Though all Englishmen of the day did not see things in the same way, though there were always discordant voices and dissenting opinions, yet at any particular time that one likes to take there was a characteristic and representative temper. Secondly the author brings to light and sets in their correct perspective writers and critics now little esteemed or scarcely remembered, but who in their day were deferred to as oracles and as arbiters of taste. And thirdly he fixes in their place more firmly than ever the great figures of the age — Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Carlyle, and their like, whom it might have been so tempting to dethrone. None of them was a complete Victorian except in the sense that they lived during Victoria's reign, but all revealed certain aspects of the Victorian temper, though all lacked others. One is not surprised that Tennyson emerges from the examination not as the greatest Victorian by any means, but certainly as the most representative one. — A great deal of reading and thought, and a wealth of critical judgement, have gone to the making of Mr Buckley's book. It will repay careful study.

A footnote to the literature of the mid-nineteenth century is provided by Professor Walther Fischer's *Deutscher Kultureinfluss am Viktorianischen Hofe bis zur Gründung des Deutschen Reiches, 1870* (Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, XCVII. Giessen, Wilhelm Schmitz, 1951. n.p.). As the title suggests, it is concerned mainly with the influence of German

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thought and culture on the English Court and the courtly circle during the middle years of the century. These, no doubt, gave a certain stimulus to that interest in German scholarship, especially in the fields of philosophy and theology, which characterised the second half of the nineteenth century, but they were not the main reason for it. The German influence on English literature was visible as early as the days of Coleridge and the transcendentalists. Professor Fischer's book collects together much scattered though not inaccessible material and welds it into a whole, but its main interest is for the historian; from the point of view of the student of literature it is an ancillary study.

With *The Confident Years, 1885—1915* (Dent, 21/—) Van Wyck Brooks has concluded his survey of the history of American literature. Like his previous volumes, it aims at giving a general picture of the literary activity during the period that it covers, and it is done with the same skill, breadth and sympathy. The title is significant, for the theme and the burden of Mr Brooks's work are that it was during these thirty years that America really discovered herself, established a faith in her own potentialities, and became aware of her future as a world power. Her writers reflected that faith and that awareness. Not that they were all of a pattern or all spoke with the same voice. Indeed it is their differences and their diversity that Mr Brooks particularly emphasises, taking us, at it were, on a literary tour from one part of the United States to another and finally back to New York, from which he started. American literature during this period was still very largely a regional literature; of all the vast array of names that occur in this book the European reader will probably be acquainted at first hand with the work of only a few (e.g. Frank Norris, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, O. Henry, Edith Wharton and Theodore Dreiser, to each of whom a complete chapter is devoted); yet the others are in many ways more typical.

One is almost overawed by the vast reading, as well as by the extent of the background knowledge displayed by the author of this work. His values are the humanistic ones of Emerson and Oliver Wendell Holmes, and in a final chapter which he calls 'A Forward Glance' he has his tilt at T. S. Eliot, whom he regards as a defeatist and pessimist, 'speaking for a time of exhaustion'. With this fifth volume Mr Brooks has completed the task he set himself, and completed it worthily. But may we hope, at some future date, for a sixth volume from him, covering the last thirty-five years or so and bringing his survey up to the present day?

In *Caricatures of Americans on the English Stage Prior to 1870* (Helsinki, Societas Scientiarum Fennica. n.p.) a Finnish scholar, Nils Erik Enkvist, has investigated a hitherto unexplored field of dramatic history. Taking as his starting-point the year 1824, when the English actor Charles Matthews visited America and returned to present burlesques and impersonations of American types to his own countrymen, Dr Enkvist traces out the main lines of development in the representations of Americans on the English stage over the next half-century. He distinguishes four



types which seem to have claimed the greatest share of attention: the Yankee, the frontiersman, the immigrant and the negro. He admits that most of the plays in which these types appeared — and the number is surprisingly high — are of no great dramatic, literary or artistic value, but they do throw light upon popular taste and illustrate one aspect of the interest in things American that was growing up in the early and middle part of the century. The presentation depended, of course, essentially on exaggeration — of pronunciation, of idiom, of costume, of manners — but this very exaggeration must have helped to form the popular conception of an American which for long lingered in the mind of many a Britisher. Dr. Enkvist has gone to a vast amount of trouble to make his work as complete and comprehensive as possible. Here and there one detects a lapse from English idiom, but taking it all in all it is well written, logically and carefully arranged, and fully documented. It should prove as interesting to the historian and the sociologist as to the student of English drama.

To read F. R. Leavis is always an exhilarating and a worthwhile experience. In *The Common Pursuit* (Chatto & Windus, 18/—) he has collected together twenty-four papers on various aspects of literature. Most have appeared before, and a number were written in reply to fellow scholars and critics who had expressed disagreement with or disapproval of Mr Leavis's methods and theories. The title, as the author tells us in a prefatory note, was suggested by a sentence in T. S. Eliot's essay *The Function of Criticism*, where Eliot emphasises the duty of the critic 'to compose his differences with as many of his fellows as possible in the common pursuit of true judgement.' Mr Leavis's charge is that in so much present-day criticism true judgement is lacking, social, semi-social or ethical criteria being substituted for it. His own criticism covers Shakespeare, Bunyan, Johnson, Pope, Swift, Hopkins, E. M. Forster and a number of more general themes; but it is as much a criticism of the critics as of his chosen subjects — sometimes more so. Not everyone will find that they can go all the way with him, but they will be interested and stimulated.

At first sight it would not seem that nonsense is a very profitable subject for literary research or criticism, yet in *The Field of Nonsense* (Chatto & Windus, 15/—) Elizabeth Sewell has managed to write a book of almost two hundred pages on it; and a most interesting book it is, too, even if it is sometimes a little over-ingenious. The kind of nonsense with which she is concerned, she points out, is not nonsensical in the ordinary acceptance of the word, for the world of nonsense created by the genuine artists in that field has a rationalism and a system of its own, though they are not the rationalism or any of the systems of daily life as we know it. The writer of nonsense literature must observe the rules of the game, even if he observes them unconsciously. What those rules are Dr. Sewell attempts to establish by examination and discussion of different kinds of nonsense writing. As might be expected, much of her material is drawn from the two great masters of their craft, Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll,



but more recent writers also find their place, though one would have liked to see a rather more generous recognition accorded to A. A. Milne for his 'Pooh' stories. Dr Sewell has mapped out the field of nonsense literature pretty thoroughly and displayed clearly the main features of the lie of the land, and for all this we must give her credit. Less happy is her attempt to formulate the 'rules of the game'. She lays down rather narrow limits, with the result that, on her own showing, a number of well-known pieces must be written off as 'nonsense failures' (the words are Dr. Sewell's own). It may be true, as she asserts, that as soon as emotion enters in the spirit of nonsense departs, but not all the 'failures' are attributable to this. When such well-known pieces as Lear's *The Jumblies* and Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark* are relegated to this category it is surely time to ask whether it is the poems that are at fault or the rules that are too rigid and narrow.

'When Mary Wollstonecraft's death was announced in the press her faults were almost completely overlooked,' writes Ralph M. Wardle in the epilogue to *Mary Wollstonecraft, A Critical Biography* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press; London, The Richards Press, 30/—). Some years later, however, a reaction set in and she became the subject of exaggerated accusations and unjustified attacks. But by the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Liberalism was in the air and the feminist movement was well under way, her faults were again overlooked or forgotten and she was remembered only as one of the 'great' women of the past and a pioneer of women's emancipation; and that, in the main, is how she has been regarded until recent times. Mr Wardle sets out to give what he claims is a truer and more balanced picture. The late Victorian conception owed not a little to Charles Kegan Paul's presentation of Mary in his *William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries* (1876). For this book Paul made use of certain letters written by Mary Wollstonecraft to Godwin which were in the possession of the Shelley family; but he selected from them what he required for his purpose, and the result was not altogether an accurate picture. Mr Wardle has examined the full collection (now in the possession of Lord Abinger, of Clees Hall, Bures, Suffolk). From there it is clear beyond doubt that Mary pursued and made love to Henry Fusele, a married man, and that her infatuation for him only ceased (if indeed it ceased then) when he snubbed her. It also becomes clear that in her relations with Gilbert Imlay she rather gloried in her influence, adopting dramatic poses, deliberately seeking to stimulate and hold his interest. She was undoubtedly a gifted woman, and Mr Wardle's biography in no way belittles or diminishes her talents or her significance, but it does set her motives, in certain episodes of her life at least, in a clearer and truer perspective. Altogether this is a scholarly treatise, showing balanced and fair judgement of events and people; and it is, too, written in a very readable style.

If Robert Smith Surtees, the creator of Jorrock and Mr Soapey Sponge, is today less well-known to readers of English literature than are his

contemporaries Dickens and Thackeray, in his own day he ran them a good second for popularity. Indeed it is common knowledge that it was the exploits of Mr Jorrock and his friends that suggested to Dickens the sporting adventures of the Pickwickians; and even in a later age Surtees had his devotees. A Northumbrian by birth but a Durham man by adoption, he was a typical Tory squire of his day, suspicious of the extension of the franchise, absorbed in hunting, and taking his social obligations as a country gentleman very seriously. Generous, hospitable, genial, public-spirited, he had, added to these virtues, a superb sense of humour, a spirit of satire, and a ready pen. His range was limited, but he knew where the limits lay and he did not go outside them. In *R. S. Surtees* (Arthur Barker, 15/—) Leonard Cooper has written a very readable account of Surtees and his novels; and the book is embellished by a number of the original coloured plates which Leech contributed to Surtees' works.

The title of Julian Symonds's *Thomas Carlyle, The Life and Ideas of a Prophet* (Gollancz, 21/—) is indicative of its author's approach to his subject. On the biographical side he has little to tell us that is new, but he has much to say on the personality, character and ideas of Carlyle. Incidentally he also seeks to dispel the notion that had he lived today he would have had much sympathy with Fascism or Nazism. Carlyle's whole life, he declares, was a war, waged with varying degrees of intensity, between the iconoclasm of his intellect and his emotional need for a faith. As a young man he had rejected the narrow Calvinism in which he had been brought up, yet to the end of his days it left its mark upon him. Life without religion was impossible to him and so he evolved a religion of his own, in many ways as austere as that which he had renounced, and this religion he preached with all the conviction and fervour of an Old Testament prophet. It was a religion of work, of sincerity, of devotion to duty, of the divine right of the truly great man. It involved a denunciation of materialism, of egalitarian doctrines, of facile optimism and of the wishy-washy kind of idealism and humanitarianism which refused to face reality. It was the antithesis of most that Rousseau had stood for a century earlier. If Carlyle believed in the ultimate triumph of right (and that conviction was inherent in his teaching) he also believed that there were times when right must be supported by might. There was, of course, another side, which Mr Symonds does not ignore or gloss over. He admits, reluctantly, that Carlyle's early respect for the masses gradually turned to something approaching contempt; he suggests that at least some of his beliefs were the outcome of frustration and disappointment rather than of genuine insight; he concedes that his reputation as a prophet may have been due partly to the fact that the Victorians had great respect for the self-proclaimed seer and partly also to his fiery, earnest, rhetorical style, which seemed to give weight and authority to utterances which were not nearly so profound as they appeared. 'He rubbed the wrong lamps,' writes Mr Symonds, 'but he was a great magician.' With the last clause

most will agree, even if some wonder whether the first does not need some qualification.

As a companion volume to this work there is Lawrence and Elizabeth Hanson's *Necessary Evil. The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle* (Constable, 45/—), a very long and detailed study of one of the most remarkable women of the nineteenth century. Founded as it very largely is upon letters to and from the Carlyles, a vast amount of work and research has gone to the making of this volume. There are copious quotations and a very full bibliography. The method adopted by the authors — that of letting Jane speak for herself as far as possible — has its disadvantages, and one is that the picture which emerges is rather an impressionistic one, lacking in synthesis and unity; but on the other hand it also means that it is free from any attempt to impose upon its subject a preconceived pattern. Even the title is not to be taken as expressing a point of view, for it is not the author's own; it is quoted from Carlyle himself, who used the words of his wife in a semi-jocular sense. Put very briefly the case that Mr and Mrs Hanson make out is this: that when Jane Welsh married Thomas Carlyle she did so not because she was deeply in love with him but because she admired and respected him; that though there was undoubtedly a certain incompatibility of temperament between the two partners, there is nothing to support the oft-repeated assertion that the marriage was an unhappy one. Jane was a woman of talent and (in her earlier days at least) of beauty, who desired a place in society and in the public esteem on her own account and rather resented being thought of simply as the wife of Mr Carlyle; but in spite of all differences there was a great deal of mutual sympathy and comradeship between them. Of the alleged unsatisfactory sex relations of the Carlyles the writers are very sceptical.

Obviously Jane is always at the centre of the picture, but equally obviously Carlyle himself also looms large, and we get revealing glimpses of many of the great literary and social figures of the day. No future student of the Carlyles and their circle can afford to neglect this book.

Thackeray still continues to attract interest and attention. Professor Gordon N. Ray's *The Buried Life* (O.U.P. for the Royal Society of Literature, 12/6) is an expanded version of a course of lectures given at the Lowell Institute in 1950. As is well known, Professor Ray has long been engaged on research into the life and works of Thackeray, and here he reveals the extent to which, in creating the characters in his novels (and to some extent particular episodes too) Thackeray drew from actual life. The original of Helen Pendennis was the author's own mother, that of Colonel Newcome his step-father, Major Carmichael-Smyth; an uncle, Lieutenant Colonel Merrick Shawe, became Major Pendennis, while Amelia Sedley was copied from Isabella Shawe, one of Thackeray's cousins. Another cousin, George Trant Shakespeare, provided him with Joseph Sedley, while old Miss Crawley is, in the main, the author's maternal grandmother, Mrs Harriet Becher (née Cowper). In the cat-and-dog life of Lord and



Lady Castlewood of *Henry Esmond*, Professor Ray believes, is reproduced the strained relations of W. H. Brookfield and his wife (with the latter of whom Thackeray conducted an *amour*), Lady Castlewood herself being a rather sentimentalised replica of the youthful Mrs Brookfield and Esmond the counterpart of Thackeray, with this difference, however: that where in actual life it was Thackeray who fell in love with his friend's wife, who was some years younger than he, in the novel it is Lady Castlewood who falls in love with Esmond, and who is the elder of the two. Professor Ray has brought plenty of evidence, and what seems irrefutable evidence, to substantiate his case, and his discussion of Thackeray's methods of utilizing material from real life should have an interest for others than students of this particular novelist.

Another prominent biographical study of the year is *Elizabeth Gaskell, Her Life and Work*, by A. B. Hopkins (John Lehmann, 21/—). After Mrs Gaskell's death in 1865 it was believed by the members of her family that she had expressed a wish that no biography of her should be written, and consequently a good deal of material that might have been used for such a work was destroyed. But much still remains. Miss Hopkins has spared no pains to discover whatever there is to discover; her account is therefore the fullest and the most accurate that has yet appeared. It reveals Mrs Gaskell as a woman of many parts. Her husband, the Rev. William Gaskell, was one of the most prominent Unitarian clergy of his day and minister of the famous and historic Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, and Mrs Gaskell, nurtured from childhood in the traditions of Unitarian piety, shirked none of the duties of a minister's wife.<sup>1</sup> She was Sunday school teacher, visitor, social worker, philanthropist, hostess, as well as writer, and with all this she combined the bringing up of a family and the management of a household of some size and consequence. Throughout her three hundred and fifty-odd pages Miss Hopkins brings Mrs Gaskell's personality vividly to life. The book also throws new light upon her literary relations with numerous other writers of her day and in particular upon her disagreement with Dickens, who at his own request published some of her work in *Household Words*. The book is well documented and the bibliography of Mrs Gaskell's writings, though not exhaustive, is the fullest that has yet appeared.

Earlier in this survey we have noticed Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson's study of Jane Welsh Carlyle. The same authors' *Marian Evans and George Eliot* (O.U.P.; 25/—) is a voluminous, scholarly and carefully written work, the result of many years study and research. It serves, as

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<sup>1</sup> In later life the Rev. William Gaskell was also principal of what is now the Unitarian College, Manchester, in the dining hall of which there hangs a portrait of him which is much better and, one would like to think, more characteristic than the rather uncouth-looking one reproduced by Miss Hopkins. (There is another at Manchester College, Oxford.) Incidentally, Miss Hopkins' description of the character and personality of William Gaskell does not agree with that gathered personally by the present writer from elderly people whose fathers and friends received their ministerial training under him.



it was intended to do, as a corrective to the very partisan biography by Cross and fills in many blanks in George Eliot's history as well as correcting a number of misapprehensions and inaccuracies. Not the least valuable part is the material gleaned from the journals and diaries of John Chapman, the editor of the *Westminster Review*, with whom George Eliot worked for some while. Her relations with Chapman have always been obscure and the subject of much speculation: Mr and Mrs Hanson are able to set them in a clearer light. There are three aspects to their work: the biographical, the interpretative or analytical, and the critical. It is on the first that Mr and Mrs Hanson are at their best. Their interpretation of the character and personality of Marian Evans does not differ markedly from that of several other recent writers upon the subject, though they have achieved a synthesis between the personality and the outward events of the life that their predecessors failed to do, and have to a considerable extent resolved the contradiction between the real Marian Evans and the pseudonymous George Eliot. The critical parts of the work are subsidiary, and if on that account they are not all that some readers would desire they are all that is called for in a book of this nature.

Since the death of Robert Louis Stevenson in 1894 several lives of him have appeared and many legends have grown up around his name. Indeed the legends have to some extent obscured the life. Now, when more than half a century has elapsed, the time has come when some serious attempt should be made to sort out the one from the other, and in *Voyage to Windward, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (Faber & Faber, 25/—) J. C. Furnas has gone far towards doing this. He has had certain advantages denied to his predecessors, most important of all full access to the very extensive collection of Stevenson documents in the Beineck archives at Yale and to the letters which R.L.S. wrote to Mrs Sitwell (later Lady Colvin). These latter were presented by the late Sir Sidney Colvin to the National Library of Scotland with the proviso that they should not be made public until 1949. Mr Furnas has made good use of them. Then he is well acquainted with Samoa and the South Sea islands, and he claims to have visited almost every place of any importance associated with Stevenson's life and work. His study may not be the last word on Stevenson but it probably comes nearer to the facts than any of its predecessors. The author is an American, and it would therefore be out of place to complain of certain mannerisms and turns of expression which irritate an English reader when they merely reflect a difference of national idiom; but not everything that gives offence falls into this category. Can anything really excuse a sentence like the following? 'His alleged optimism kept him considered pertinent to human life long after his death.' That is only one example. There are many more like it.

It has fallen to another American scholar, Miss Sylvia Berkman, to present us with the first considerable survey and assessment of Katherine Mansfield. *Katherine Mansfield, A Critical Study* (O.U.P., 21/—) is not a large book so far as bulk is concerned, but it is full of excellent material;

and it is well written, in a style which is concise, lucid and pleasant to read. Miss Berkman does not make excessive claims for her subject, for if she is appreciative of Katherine Mansfield's achievements she is also aware of her failings and her limitations. She must, one feels, have read all the relevant material that there is to be read — not only all that Katherine Mansfield wrote herself but all that others have written about her — but she is quite independent in her judgements. Every aspect of Katherine Mansfield's work is discussed, but the general conclusion that Miss Berkman draws is summarised in her final paragraph.

The enlargement of perception that one receives from Miss Mansfield's finest work is of the kind one gains from association with an imaginative and gifted child, who sees, freshly and sharply, imponderables of meaning within the compass of the small. But she was also a woman who had suffered in the world, and it is not often that the untouched apprehension of the child fuses perfectly with the view acquired through the circumstances of her life. When it does we have a form of expression which intensifies to lasting value a portion of human experience through the instrument of original vision, and which is therefore authentic art.

*Arnold Bennett, A Biography*, by Reginald Pound (Heinemann, 21/—) is a full and sympathetic portrait, giving all the essential information about Bennett's life and revealing the many-sided personality that was apparent to those who knew him. It is written in a vivid, lively style, and is valuable for its human characteristics rather than for any criticism or assessment of Bennett's works. To say this is not to belittle Mr Pound's achievement, for, as his title indicates, he sets out primarily to write about the man and not about his works.

For the first full-length study of Hugh Walpole we have had to wait for Rupert Hart-Davis's *Hugh Walpole, A Biography* (Macmillan, 25/—). It is a very long and a very full book. Again the approach is biographical rather than critical. Walpole was a man of many parts, but first and foremost he was a novelist and the centre of the literary world of his day. Mr Hart-Davis traces out in detail his varied and eventful career. He draws upon personal knowledge, letters, and the accounts of friends and acquaintances. The figure of Walpole himself stands out very clearly, but around him there move many others, so that the book is, in effect, a picture of Hugh Walpole and his circle. It is invaluable not only as the portrait of a remarkable, a warm-hearted and generous man and a gifted writer, but also as a document in the literary history of the early twentieth century.

Arland Ussher's *Three Great Irishmen. Shaw, Yeats and Joyce* (Gollancz, 12/6) is an enlargement of three essays which originally appeared in the *Dublin Magazine*. The title indicates the attitude in which Mr Ussher approaches his subjects, but he is never a mere idol worshipper or panegyrist. All three of the writers here dealt with were individualists and eccentrics; all three sought, in different ways, to express a philosophy through their art; all three became the centre of a cult which, our author believes, did more harm than good to their reputation. If there is any

debunking in this work it is not directed against Shaw, Yeats and Joyce but against their devotees, who, Mr Ussher affirms, often worshipped them unintelligently and usually for the wrong things. On the comparative merits of these three essays opinions will probably differ; to the present writer that on Shaw seems the best, while Mr Ussher seems least at his ease in his discussion of Yeats. His style is pungent, pointed and witty — sometimes a little too much so, for it is apt to make him appear slightly patronising and condescending towards the reader; and had he been a little more sparing in his use of parentheses it would have made for greater fluency.

In contrast with the last few years, little has been written on the poets of the Romantic period, though attention should be drawn to the late Lascelles Abercrombie's *The Art of Wordsworth* (O.U.P., 10/6). It consists of five lectures delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1935 but never before published, together with a sixth lecture on *Peter Bell*. They have been prepared for the press by the author's son, Ralph Abercrombie. A few alterations have been necessary for their presentation in printed form, but they are slight; substantially the papers remain in the form in which they were originally composed.

One of the outstanding works of the year, which may come to occupy an important place amongst Browning literature, is Betty Miller's *Robert Browning. A Portrait* (Murray, 21/—). It is not a work of criticism but rather a combination of biography on the one hand and explanation, elucidation and interpretation of the poet's personality on the other. On the purely biographical side we are not given very much that is new (indeed it is doubtful whether much that is of any importance now remains unknown), though by emphasizing Browning's earlier affair with Eliza Flower, and possibly too with her sister Sarah (better known by her later married name of Sarah Flower Adams), Mrs Miller does deprive his courtship of and elopement with Elizabeth Barrett of some of its glamour and romance. At one point, too, she suggests that Elizabeth rather enjoyed the privileged position that her delicate health gave her and that she had her misgivings about allying herself to a lover who insisted that love could only endure so long as it had an object to look up to. It was for something of the same reason that she had rejected the rather importunate attentions of the Rev. Mr Hunter, minister of the chapel at which she and her family worshipped, though out of fairness to Hunter it must be admitted that at first she had given him considerable encouragement and had even set her cap at him. 'For fifteen years,' writes Mrs Miller, 'it [Browning's insistence on idolising her] was to remain for Robert and Elizabeth at once a keystone and a stumbling-block within the structure of their wedded lives.'

The chief interest of Mrs Miller's book, however, is the view it presents of Browning's character and personality. When a number of his letters were published some years after his death considerable passages were excised, occasionally out of deference to the Victorian sense of propriety



but more often out of consideration for relatives or for people still living. Mrs Miller has restored these excisions, and they do make a difference. The Browning presented here is far from being the happy, fortunate, self-assured being he is generally assumed to have been. As a young man there was something slightly effeminate about him; he worshipped and clung to his mother. When one was happy the other was happy, if one was indisposed so was the other. He renounced his early infatuation for the poetry of Shelley because his mother disapproved. The father apparently counted for little. Throughout the whole of his life, Mrs Miller tells us, Browning was to suffer from the effects of this. He was obsessed by extreme reticence and a horror of exhibiting himself, and so he adopted various masks and poses, concealing himself behind his created characters. Even that appearance of conviction and assurance, of knowing all the answers to all the questions, may have been a mask to conceal a mind that was far from being at peace with itself.

The case Mrs Miller makes out needs careful examination. It is interesting and even fascinating; but very much the same kind of things have recently been said about Dickens, Thackeray and Trollope, to say nothing of Ruskin. That, of course, does not invalidate them in the case of Browning, but it does perhaps suggest that it is becoming the latest 'angle' for writers of literary portraits.

Also deserving of careful study is D. E. S. Maxwell's *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 21/—), for it is by far the most comprehensive and discriminating of the many treatises on that poet that have so far appeared. In the first place it sets out to judge Eliot's verse in the light of his own views upon poetry as expressed in his critical essays. Secondly the study is brought as nearly up to date as possible and includes the poetic plays as well as the poems proper. And in the third place the author goes to Mr Eliot's prose writings on politics, religion and sociology for illumination of the poems. Mr Maxwell emphasises the fact, as indeed any writer on the subject is bound to do, that Eliot is first and foremost a traditionalist, rejecting the individualist heresy fostered by the Romantic Revival; but he also shows that if Eliot is to be called a classicist his classicism differs fundamentally from that of the eighteenth century. Where to Pope and his school tradition was static — something that had been established once for all by antiquity, that is inherited fully-made and can never be modified either by adding to or taking from it — to Eliot tradition was living, creative and cumulative, something to be built upon and enriched, even perhaps transmuted. In Eliot's style and technique Mr Maxwell traces three influences: that of the English Augustans, that of the Metaphysicals, and that of the French Symbolists. Eliot's own symbolism is worked out in great detail and a clear process of development is shewn from the earliest works to the latest, the piece entitled *The Hollow Men* marking the point at which Eliot really became the T. S. Eliot that we now know. This book of Mr Maxwell's can be warmly recommended. It deals with a difficult subject with skill and discrimination.



Only two deaths among scholars and critics have to be reported: that of Sir Desmond MacCarthy (June 8), and of Professor Donald A. Stauffer (Aug. 8), the latter of whom was engaged on research work in Britain at the time.

Sheffield.

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## Points of Modern English Syntax

### XXV

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXXIV. No. 2, April 1952

(Concluded)

(69.) In the third quotation the question *What train do you think you'll catch?* shows that the speaker has no, or at least no definite, idea about what trains are available, but in the fourth sentence the speaker asks *Which train shall we go by to-morrow?*, because, as the rest of the sentence shows, he knows there are two, and the implication is: if you take the early one you will reap certain benefits and/or be put to certain inconveniences of a character opposed to those which your departure by the later one will entail (disjunctive classification).

70. The post-position of *insane* may be due to two causes, which may both be operative. Let us first ask ourselves what the structural opposite *an insane man* means. Obviously 'a male human being who is mad'. But this is not what the author means. *Man*, as used in our quotation, with a classifying indefinite article, has a more general sense than 'male human being'. Although the noun primarily denotes a male person, the idea of sex is in the background and essentially the word resembles the determinative personal pronoun *one*, as in *He lay like one dead*. Now attributive adjuncts to weak-stressed pronouns follow their leading member: *something nice*, *nothing disquieting*, *those best informed*, and the post-position of *insane* may therefore well be due to the semi-pronominal character of *man*. Cf. *in matters musical*, *things visible*, where the word-order must be explained similarly.

Yet we are not disposed to attach too much weight to this, for we might expect the same order if *woman* had been used, which, to our knowledge is not used semi-pronominally. Attributive adjuncts sometimes follow the noun they qualify to indicate that the quality mentioned is momentary, temporary, accidental, whereas if the same adjunct precedes, it suggests something permanent, essential or inherent. Thus Dorothy Sayers in *Gaudy Night*, ch. I, p. 8 speaks of

The college cat, preoccupied and remote, stalking with tail erect in the direction of the buttery

because 'erect' here means 'held erect at the time'. But we would describe a man as having an erect carriage, and describe a statue as representing an erect figure. Similarly Thomas Hardy, in *The Return of the Native*, describing a little boy fearfully stopping to listen to an unfamiliar sound in a lonely place at night, says

The halt was but momentary, for the noise resolved itself into the steady bites of two animals grazing,

where the verbal *ing* has post-position because it denotes 'that happened to be grazing there at the time'. Now in a *man insane* we have a parallel case. The meaning of the group is certainly not 'a man who is permanently mad; a certified lunatic', but rather 'a man who under the stress of some irresistible emotion is for a time beside himself with rage'. It is this accidental (in the philosophical sense) character of the adjective which would seem to be largely responsible for its place.

## XXVI

71. They (scil. the old-time actors) swept past us, fantastically overcoated, with trilbies perched raffishly on brilliantined curls, talking of incredible matters in high tones, merely casting a few sparkling glances — all the more sparkling because of that blue-black — in our direction; and then vanished through the stage door, to reappear, but out of all recognition, in the wigs and kneebreeches of *David Garrick* or *The Only Way*. J. B. Priestley, *The Actors in The Priestley Companion*, p. 205 (Penguin).

In what function is *to reappear* used in this sentence?

72. Yes; she was old, fat, helplessly lame and was being taken away from her familiar surroundings, a sick woman, far from home. But she gave no sign of inward distress, but was her grand, uproarious self.

She did all our hearts good that day, and I said then that although Britannia can put up a good fight, Two Ton Annie and all her kind can put up a better one. Id., *Two Ton Annie*, ib., p. 345.

We've known them and laughed at them, these fussy little steamers, all our lives. Id., *The Little Ships*, ib., p. 341.

All our chickens have died (private communication from a friend and his wife).

Define the different relations existing between the members of the groups *all our hearts*, *all our lives* on the one hand, and *all our chickens* on the other.

73. They would call it the crudest sort of bigotry, if not downright wicked, if he continued to believe that God was on his side. God, *they* said, was on nobody's side.

Well, he supposed they knew: and he conscientiously tried to believe as they taught him, against his instinct: in this new God. It seemed, the only proper thing to pray for, to this God, was Grace: *i.e.* to be made gooder. So he only prayed for Grace. But he could see little result. And in this he was not greatly surprised: for the one prayer of his childhood which had never been answered was the formal prayer he prayed every

night, 'Make me a good boy'. He had never found that his behaviour next day was a whit the better for it. Richard Hughes, *In Hazard*, ch. 8, iii, p. 145 f.

- a. Explain the difference in meaning between *if he continued to believe* and *if he kept believing*.
- b. What can have induced the author to coin the word *gooder*?
- c. Would *his behaviour the next day* suggest exactly the same shade of meaning?

Answers and comments may be sent to

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Haarlem (Holland).

P. A. ERADES.

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### Brief Mention

*The American Way: Aspects of American Civilization.* By JOHN T. FLANAGAN. (Groningen Studies in English, 4.) Groningen/Djakarta: J. B. Wolters. 1953. vi + 66 pp. Price f 1,90.

These five lectures given at a Conference on American Studies held at Groningen in the spring of 1953 'for the benefit chiefly of Dutch secondary school teachers of English and history' offer in their easy lucidity and comprehensive sweep a very welcome presentation of some of the most important aspects of the development of modern American intellectual life. The author passes from the most salient trait in the American character, the 'revolt from the past', to a discussion of the relations of the individual to society, the interplay of materialism and idealism in the American mentality, the influence of the 'frontier' on the thinking of the New World, and the import of American aspirations, what Professor Flanagan modestly calls 'the American dream', in our time. For an American speaking to a European audience to keep the right balance between an exaggerated praise and an equally excessive criticism is not so easy as it might seem, and the necessity for conciseness offers pitfalls such as over-simplification, triteness and popular distortion. On the whole these lectures are remarkably free from such blemishes. One might object that the revolt from the past would not have been postulated so often by various leaders if the rank and file, during the romantic decades, had not thought otherwise; that the individualism of Emerson and Thoreau was meant as a protest against the Babbitry that is the besetting sin of all democracy on a large scale; and that materialism and idealism have always gone together, though in various reciprocal doses. And in point of fact one must protest most decidedly against the motivation here given of Henry James' migration to Europe. But on the whole Mr Flanagan succeeds in distributing lights and shadows in a fair and convincing way, for which all European readers will be grateful.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

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*A Handbook of English Grammar.* By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Fifth Edition. Groningen/Djakarta: J. B. Wolters. 1953. 392 pp. Sewed f 8,90/Cloth f 9,50.

For this edition the book has again been carefully revised, and the usefulness of the Index increased by the addition of several new entries. — Z.

## Corrigendum

In the article on 'M. G. Lewis and Mme de Stael' in the June number, in the first line of p. 111, 'to Herder' should read 'to Herder's circle'.

## Books Received

## 1952

*A Syntax of the English Language of St. Thomas More. II.* By F. TH. VISSER. (Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama. New Series: Twenty-Fourth Volume.) Louvain: Librairie Universitaire. xx, 449-751 pp.

*Ben Jonson.* Edited by C. H. HERFORD, PERCY and EVELYN SIMPSON. Vol. XI. Commentary, Jonson's Literary Record, Supplementary Notes, Index. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. vi + 668 pp. 42s. net.

*The Lover's Stratagem, or Virtue Rewarded.* Un dramma inglese inedito e adespoto del secolo diciassettesimo. Di A. OBERTELLO. Storia — Critica — Testo in edizione diplomatica — Note. Genova: Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto Universitario di Magistero.

*Some Problems of Donne Criticism.* By IRENE SIMON. (Langues Vivantes, No. 40.) Bruxelles: Marcel Didier. 76 pp.

## 1953

*Pearl.* Edited by E. V. GORDON. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. lx + 167 pp. 12s. 6d. net.

*Humoristische Tendenzen in der englischen Dichtung des Mittelalters.* Von H. REINHOLD. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 161 pp. Geh. DM 16.60, gebd. DM 19.60. (Für Abonnenten der Anglia. DM 13.60 u. 16.60.)

*The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges.* Edited by H. E. SANDISON. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. lviii + 254 pp. Price 30s. net.

*Textual Problems of the First Folio.* A Study of *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Troilus & Cressida*, *2 Henry IV*, *Hamlet* and *Othello*. By ALICE WALKER. (Shakespeare Problems Series. General Editor: J. Dover Wilson. VII.) Cambridge University Press. viii + 170 pp. 18s. net.

*The Shakespearian Tempest.* By G. WILSON KNIGHT. Third Edition. London: Methuen. xxiv + 332 pp. 21s. net.

*Five Stuart Tragedies.* Edited with an Introduction by A. K. McILWRAITH. (The World's Classics, 526.) Oxford University Press. xxi + 497 pp. 7/6 net.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *Religio Medici*. Edited from the manuscript copies and early editions by JEAN-JACQUES DENONAIN. Cambridge University Press. xliii + 120 pp. 25s. net.

*Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte des Komischen Epos.* Von K. SCHMIDT. Halle (Saale): Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag. vi + 204 pp. Kart. DM 15.—.

*Swift's Rhetorical Art.* A Study in Structure and Meaning. By M. PRICE. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 123.) New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. viii + 115 pp. \$3.75.

*Satirische Schrijvers. Karakter en Temperament.* Door W. A. PANNENBORG. Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. 86 pp. f 3.90.



*English Literature in Germany.* By L. M. PRICE. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology. Volume 37, 1-548. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1953. Price \$5.00.

*Testimony against prophane customs,* by INCREASE MATHER. Reprinted from the 1687 edition, with an introduction and notes by WILLIAM PEDEN and a bibliographical note by LAWRENCE STARKEY. Published by the University of Virginia Press for the Tracy W. Mc. Gregor Library, Charlottesville, 1953. 59 pp. Price \$5.00.

*Maryland Imprints 1801-1810.* By R. P. BRISTOL. Charlottesville, Virginia. Published by the University of Virginia Press for The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. 1953. xxviii + 310 pp. Price \$7.50.

*A Preliminary Checklist of Tennessee Imprints, 1861-1866.* By E. D. MITCHELL. Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. 1953. Price \$2.—.

*Cornerstones of Confederate Collecting.* By R. B. HARWELL. Second edition, with facsimiles and an introduction by Clifford Dowdey. The University of Virginia Press for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia, 1953. 35 pp. Price \$2.50.

*Mark Twain and the German Language.* By J. T. KRUMPELMANN. (Louisiana State University Studies, Humanities Series Number Three.) Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1953. 21 pp. Price 50 c.

*Die Darstellung des Affekts der Furcht im englischen Roman zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Von A. MASÉ. Zürich: Juris-Verlag. 83 pp. Sw. Fr. 8.30.

*Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury.* By IRMA RANTAVAARA. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Ser. B, Tom. 82,1.) Helsinki 1953. 171 pp. Price 500 mk.

*On the Four Quartets of T. S. Eliot.* ANON. With a Foreword by ROY CAMPBELL. London: Vincent Stuart 1953. 64 pp. 10s. 6d. net.

*A Reader's Guide to T. S. Eliot. A Poem-by-Poem Analysis.* By G. WILLIAMSON. New York: The Noonday Press. 1953. 248 pp. Price \$3.50.

*The Triumph of the English Language.* A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration. By R. F. JONES. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California. xii + 340 pp. \$5.00.

*Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects* by ANGUS MCINTOSH. (University of Edinburgh, Linguistic Survey of Scotland Monographs, No. 1.) Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. xii + 122 pp. 7s. 6d. [See Review, June 1953.]

*A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States.* By E. BAGBY ATWOOD. (Studies in American English 2.) University of Michigan Press. viii + 53 pp. Price \$2.50.

*Better English.* By G. H. VALLINS. London: Pan Books Ltd. 224 pp. 2/—.

*A Handbook of English Grammar.* By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Fifth Edition. Groningen, Djakarta: J. B. Wolters. 1953. 392 pp. Sewed f 8.90, cloth f 9.50.

*Englische Rechtschreiblehre.* Von W. FRIEDERICH. Wiesbaden: Kesselringsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1953. 66 pp. DM 2.80.

*Secular Heroic Epic Poetry of the Caroline Period.* By A. I. T. HIGGINS. (Swiss Studies in English, 31.) Bern: A. Francke AG. 1953. 136 pp. Sw. Fr. 10.—

*Studies in the Word-Order of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies and Lives of the Saints.* By C. R. BARRETT. Cambridge: The Department of Anglo-Saxon. Occasional Papers: Number III. 1953. ix + 135 pp.

Diss. Bern.

# To Professor Eugen Dieth

on his sixtieth birthday

November 18, 1953

English Philology, Old Norse and General Phonetics are the subjects attached to the chair held by Professor Eugen Dieth in the University of Zürich. The articles and reviews collected in the present number of *English Studies* should testify to the wide interests of a scholar and teacher whose efforts, services and achievements have called for the gratitude and admiration of his friends, colleagues and pupils.

A few years ago it might have been difficult to say which of his various fields of study Professor Dieth clearly considered his favourite one, but more recently his name has so definitely been linked with the birth of the Linguistic Atlas of England that a good deal of his earlier work may well be interpreted as steps towards the concentrated efforts of his present undertaking.

Eugen Dieth was born on November 18, 1893, at Neukirch an der Thur in the north-eastern part of Switzerland, i.e. in rural surroundings. He was educated at the Kantonsschule Zürich and at the Universities of Zürich and Geneva. He began his academic career as a lecturer in German at Aberdeen University (1922—1927), after having received the degree of a Ph. D. in the University of Zürich in 1919. It was in that period that the most important aspects of his life-work were becoming evident. First and, for a long time foremost, was his outstanding success as a teacher both on the most advanced as well as the elementary level, of which the present writers could give evidence from personal experience. Not only have two of the best known English schoolbooks in Switzerland come from his pen, but for many years after he had been appointed 'Ausserordentlicher Professor' in 1927 he conducted the training courses for prospective teachers of English in the University of Zürich. And if one looks at his other publications, it becomes clear that the never failing precision and lucidity of his style undoubtedly spring from the same source. The series of valuable dissertations that have been produced under his supervision are further evidence of his power to bring out the best in his pupils.

It was also at Aberdeen that Professor Dieth prepared the material for his *Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire)* (1932), which is one of the most thoroughgoing and exact examinations of the phonology and the accidence of any English or Scottish dialect. The study of dialects is indeed the field to which Professor Dieth has probably devoted most of

his labours as a scholar and, it must be added, as a human being. From 1927 to 1936 he was one of the editors of the Swiss Dialect Dictionary (*Schweizerdeutsches Idiotikon*), and since 1936 he has been in charge of the 'Phonogrammarchiv' of the University of Zürich, i.e. of a collection of dialect records from all over Switzerland with the corresponding texts and studies. This sort of work takes a great deal of time without yielding any spectacular results, yet together with his efforts to promote the use of dialect for official and semi-official purposes at home, it enabled Professor Dieth to accumulate the experience for the main task awaiting him.

In the meantime he had founded the 'Phonetisches Laboratorium' of the University of Zürich (1943), which under his directorship has since grown into an important research institute. An early result of his efforts in the experimental field was his essay: 'Die Konsonanten und Geminaten des Schweizerdeutschen experimentell untersucht', a detailed study of a fundamental problem in our language written in collaboration with his assistant Dr. R. Brunner and published in the *Festschrift Jakob Jud* (Zürich 1943). In 1947 he became 'Ordentlicher Professor' in the University of Zürich, and in 1950 he produced his *Vademekum der Phonetik. Phonetische Grundlagen für das wissenschaftliche und praktische Studium der Sprachen*, a volume that has become an indispensable companion for any student of modern languages.

Important and useful as all this work would be in itself, it now appears very much like a preface to the still greater undertaking of the Linguistic Atlas of England. When after the war, through the help of British scholars and institutions, the scheme began to take shape it soon became evident that Professor Dieth would be the man to shoulder the main responsibility for its realisation. A first plan was presented to the public in his article 'A New Survey of English Dialects' in *Essays and Studies*, volume 32 (1946), and after another six years of negotiations with circles that in part were still unacquainted with the aims and methods of Linguistic Geography, and after a period of careful planning and testing, the *Questionnaire*, published in collaboration with Professor Harold Orton in the Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, gave evidence that the field workers had started on their job. Although it will be years before the completion of the work, the resolute persistency of its chief promotor gives full promise of its success. Nor have his ideas lacked public recognition: in 1952 he received the honorary degree of LL. D. from the very university where he had begun his work as a teacher.

Even a brief survey such as the present one reveals some of the characteristic qualities of Professor Dieth's work. As a Swiss he is naturally and profoundly aware of the important position of dialects in the cultural life of a nation and is ready to fight tooth and nail for their preservation. As a philologist trained, as it were, in the stronghold of Linguistic Geography and deeply influenced by the work of the late Jakob Jud and Albert Bachmann of Zürich and of Charles Bally of Geneva, he prefers and develops such methods as have been well put to the test, even

to a touch of suspicion against anything that tends to be abstract, speculative and merely theoretical. And as a human being he has a deep affection for anything that is genuine, homely and soil-bound. It is especially this last characteristic that together with his strong sense of humour has won him so many friends at home and abroad. And the common bond of all these friends is their sincere wish that Professor Dieth may enjoy many more years of health and happiness to continue his work as a teacher and a scholar.

HEINRICH STRAUMANN.  
ERNST LEISI.

The Editors of *English Studies* have great pleasure in putting this number at the disposal of friends, colleagues and pupils of Professor Dieth to honour him on his sixtieth birthday. In doing so they wish at the same time to express their high appreciation of Professor Dieth as a contributor to this journal, whose reviews of publications on phonetics and linguistic geography testify to his complete mastery of these fields of research. They are glad, too, to salute in him a scholar whose practice of international cooperation agrees so completely with their own ideal.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

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## The Old English Vowel Phonemes<sup>1</sup>

It is always difficult to investigate the phonemes of a dead language. Old scribes were certainly never trained phonologists who used different symbols for different phonemes and only one symbol for each of them. When they adapted the traditional Roman alphabet for writing a vernacular the basis for their spellings was the school pronunciation of Latin or the spelling tradition of another European language. The Roman alphabet was deficient in letters to represent the phonemes of any vernacular and new devices had to be found to create an at least in parts satisfactory orthography. We may rather credit those old inventors of spelling systems with some gift of phonetic observation, similar to that of modern dialect writers when they want to represent dialect pronunciation by the graphs used in a literary language. Besides, any orthography tends to become traditional when taught in scriptoriums.

The well known terms of O.E. Grammars, 'Breaking', 'Front Mutation', 'Back Mutation' etc. are challenged because they are based on spellings only. They are, however, convenient means to elucidate the conditions under which certain graphs are used. Grammarians are therefore hardly to blame if they continue to use them. A study of their phonemic significance is quite a different problem, the results of which would certainly help us in a study of English historical phonology. But as we hardly ever will be able to read Old English texts as it was done by their authors or scribes, it has no primary importance.

The following facts seem to be evident:

1. Quantity of vowels formed in O.E. a phonological opposition. Scribes as a rule do not mark it, only now and then they double a vowel graph to indicate length.

2. The Prim. Germanic diphthongs are spelt in O.E. *a*, *ea*, *eo*, *io*. *a* undoubtedly meant a monophthong, [ɑ:] or [a:]. *ea*, at least in the beginning, designated a diphthong, probably [ɛə] or [æə] (this may be inferred from the old spellings *aeo* and *aeu* which very likely were dropped for their clumsiness). When the monophthongisation to [ɛ:] began and when it was complete we do not know. By 1000 the monophthong seems to have been universal, but the spelling *ea* was preserved in some Mss. till the 13th cent.<sup>2</sup> Monophthongisation may have begun before any reverse spellings appear and may have first occurred before certain

<sup>1</sup> Discussion on the phonemic value of O.E. vowel graphs was opened by Miss M. Daunt in her paper 'O.E. Sound-Changes Reconsidered in Relation to Scribal Tradition and Practice', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London 1939, pp. 108-137, and was recently taken up again by M. L. Samuels in 'The Study of Old English Phonology' (*ibid.* 1950, p. 15-47) and Miss M. Daunt's rejoinder 'Some Notes on Old English Phonology' (*ibid.* p. 48-54).

<sup>2</sup> Eginhard Grosse, *Die neuengl. ea-Schreibung*. Palaestra 208 (Leipzig 1937), p. 37 ff.



consonants and in some dialects. Also *eo* and *io* very likely designated diphthongs, which at least in the beginning, were not identical. Perhaps they were [eʊ] and [iʊ]. Later they coincided, hence the confusion in spelling and the preference for one or the other digraph in different scriptoria. Neither are *eo* and *ea* strictly separated. Whether this is a sign of coincidence may be questioned. Only a closer investigation of modern dialects may bring elucidation. It may be that later in O.E. [eʊ] and [iʊ] sounded something like [eə] in some dialects, while in others a diphthong like [øʏ] is not improbable. The former may have led to the M.E. [e:], the latter to the early M.E. [ø:] which only later was unrounded.

3. Whether there was a qualitative difference between long and short pure vowels we do not know. If there was any it cannot have been very marked. When etymologically short *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *y* were lengthened before consonant clusters of nasals, *l* or *r* and a voiced stop or fricative, the lengthened vowels coincided with the old long vowels spelt alike. It is, however, possible that short vowels had a 'lax' and long ones a 'tense' articulation. This might account for the different development sketched under 8. It may also have led to the qualitative difference which must have existed towards the end of the O.E. and in the M.E. period. When old short vowels were lengthened in open syllables the new long vowels no longer coincided with the O.E. long vowels, but became more open, i.e. O.E. [e] became M.E. [ɛ:], O.E. [o] M.E. [ɔ:], O.E. [i] M.E. [e:] and O.E. [u] M.E. [o:]. O.E. long [a:] (or [ɑ:], v. *supra*) in the meantime had become south of the Humber a slightly rounded vowel (M.E. [ɔ:]) and O.E. [a], when lengthened in open syllable, became a new [a:], which also appears in some French loan-words. North of the Humber the old quality was preserved and lengthened O.E. [a] coincided with it.

4. When O.E. scribes adopted the graph *æ* they certainly meant by it a phoneme which they analysed as being between the one spelt *a* and the one spelt *e*. It is quite possible that its quality was slightly different when long and when short. Short *æ* may have meant [a] or [æ], long *æ* [æ:] or [ɛ:]. This may be inferred from the M.E. development, when the short *æ* began to be spelt *a* and the long one *e*, or *ee* (besides occasional *ea* as a 'reverse' spelling after the monophthongisation of the diphthong designated in O.E. by *ea*). Also in O.F. no difference in spelling is made between open and close *e* ([ɛ:] and [e:]).

5. 'Breaking' results, in the current use of the term in O.E. Grammars, in digraphs being used for *æ*, *e*, *i* before certain consonants, viz. *rr*, *r* + cons., *ll*, *l* + cons. and [x] (written *h*). The use of those digraphs is not uniform. It is most widespread in W.S. and Kentish Mss., in 'Anglian' Mss. they do not appear before [x] (see below 7, 'Smoothing') and instead of the digraph *ea* *a* appears regularly before *ll* and *l* + cons. Before *rr* and *r* + cons. *a* is also found throughout the country. After long vowels digraphs only appear before [x] (but not in 'Anglian' Mss.). The problem is, whether these digraphs are meant to represent diphthongs (or better a glide between the original vowel and the following consonants),

i.e. *ea* a pronunciation [æə], *eo* perhaps [eə], *io* [iə], which appeared to the scribes similar to the diphthongs which had developed from the Prim. Germ. diphthongs (see above 2), or whether the digraphs are signs to indicate a 'dark' articulation of the following consonants, the view propagated by Miss M. Daunt and F. Mossé<sup>3</sup>. The principal objection against this view seems to be that digraphs are not used for long vowels except before [x]. A 'dark' articulation of *r* and *l* would have existed also after them. The second objection is, the occurrence of *a* instead of *ea* before *r* and *l*. This is best explained as a graph for an allophone developed from [æə] by lowering the tongue before the glide. It must have become common before *l* in Anglian dialects. *ea* for *eo* and vice versa in some 'Anglian' Mss., where *ea* before *l* and *h* does not occur at all, may be a graph thought to represent the glide more adequately. It may therefore be safe to assume that in case of 'breaking' *ea* means [æə], *eo* [eə] and *io* [iə] and that the later confusion between *eo* and *io* was caused by [iə] being pronounced [iə], [eə] by lowering the tongue before the glide.

6. 'Front Mutation'. The changes of pure vowels by front mutation do not need discussion. It is generally assumed that *æ* and *e* in this case in O.E. represent the same phonemes as other *æ* and *e*, and this is supported by their later development. *œ* and *y* are considered to be rounded vowels, of which *œ* [ø] underwent unrounding during the O.E. period, while *y* [y] was unrounded later and only in parts of the country. Whether the early spellings *oi* and *ui* instead of later *œ* and *y* indicate diphthongs or are due to continental spelling devices may be open to discussion.

The Prim. Germanic diphthongs, when subject to the influence of front mutation are spelt *æ* (Prim. Germanic *ai*), *e* or *ie* (Prim. Germanic *au*), *io*, also *eo* and *ie* (Prim. Germanic *iu*). *ie* is W.S. and changes with *i*; later W.S. — already from the time of Ælfred onwards — uses *y* instead. The meaning of *æ* is evident. If we assume for *ea* (Prim. Germanic *au*, see above 2) the value [εə] or [æə], the spelling *e* probably shows that under the influence of front mutation the position of the tongue became higher and the second element weaker or lost, the result being [e:]. The O.E. diphthongs for Prim. Germanic *iu* do not seem to have undergone much change, since the spelling is the same. W.S. *ie* probably indicates a pronunciation [iə] or [eə], i.e. that by 'front mutation' the position of the tongue had become higher when the basis was Prim. Germanic *au*, while when *ie* goes back to Prim. Germanic *iu* only the second element was different. W.S. *i* instead of *ie* may show that the second element was weaker and therefore neglected in spelling. Later W.S. *y* is more difficult to explain. In spite of M.E. spellings with *u* (e.g. *huren* 'hear') it is not easy to assume that a rounded vowel developed. Perhaps it might be safe to assume that [iə] or [eə] had acquired a palatoguttural pronunciation [i̠] which on account of its acoustic effect was confounded with [y] and spelt

<sup>3</sup> *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen-âge*, I. Vieil-anglais (Paris 1945), p. 31.

accordingly. A rounded [y] may have been substituted for it by some speakers or in some areas.

The changes of vowels under the simultaneous influence of 'breaking' and front mutation are similar. Instead of *ea* we find *e*, but in Early W.S. *ie*, *i*, in later W.S. *y* (for 'Anglian' *a* instead of *ea* before *ll*, *l* + cons. mostly *æ*, but occasionally *e* which must be presupposed for the widespread M.E. and Place-Name forms with *e*<sup>4</sup>. *æ* also occurs before *rr*, *r* + cons. mainly in Mss. where instead of *ea* we find *a*, see above 5); instead of *io* in W.S. Mss. *ie*, *i*, *y*, while in not-W.S. Mss. it is preserved or spelt *eo*. From this similarity it is inferred that 'breaking' began earlier than front mutation, but, in fact, both are pre-historic phonemic proceedings which existed as long as the environments causing them, i.e. in the case of front mutation till *j* after consonant disappeared and *i* in syllables after the accent was either lowered (spelt *e*) or dropped.

7. 'Smoothing'. This term, invented by Henry Sweet, is used to designate the fact that before gutturals and also before clusters of *r* or *l* + guttural in 'Anglian' Mss. no digraphs are used for Prim. Germanic diphthongs or in cases where 'breaking' is to be expected and occurs in southern Mss. When an etymological [x] was dropped, digraphs, however, are used, as in *neoleca(n)*, *neowest*, *eored* etc. This is usually taken as a sign that in a pre-literary stage diphthongs arose by 'breaking' of which later, just as of those diphthongs which had developed from Prim. Germanic *au*, *eu* and *iu*, the second element was absorbed by the guttural. Since no digraphs are used also before *c*, *g*, *rc*, *rg*, *rh* and for *e* before *lh* it is equally possible that it was not thought necessary to express the glides before gutturals and clusters with gutturals, while digraphs were considered to be more adequate when the guttural (in this case *h*) was no longer written.

Late W.S. *e* instead of earlier *ea* before *c*, *g*, *h* looks to be similar, but to discontinue writing the digraph is confined to *ea*. Further, not *æ* is used, but *e*, which is the sign for another phoneme. It is therefore more likely that those spellings are to be taken as a sign for monophthongisation of [æə], [ɛə] to [ɛ], the more so as it is possible that *æ* in the meantime did not any longer represent [æ], but when short [a] and when long [ɛ:].

8. 'Back Mutation'. Digraphs (*ea* for *a*, *eo* for *e*, *io* and *eo* for *i*) are used for short vowels before *a*, *o/u* in the following unaccented syllable, if only one consonant intervenes. *ea* is on the whole confined to the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (except in *ealu*), *eo* and *io* are only found before certain consonants, above all *r* and *l*, before dentals and nasals and gutturals only in certain texts. Here again we may assume that those digraphs are meant to express 'vowel + glide' and not a 'dark' flavour of the following consonants (although this may have existed). The latter assumption is not so convincing because digraphs never appear for long vowels where, at all events, a 'dark' pronunciation of the following consonant is also to be supposed. But if we presume that short vowels

<sup>4</sup> See E. Ekwall, *Contributions to the History of O.E. Dialects*, Lund 1917, p. 40 ff.

had acquired a 'lax' articulation during the O.E. period, it is quite possible to assume that a glide was better audible after them than after 'tense' long ones. 'Back Mutation' seems to be of later appearance in O.E. Mss.<sup>5</sup> It is inviting to think that it is connected with a change of articulation of short vowels. *eo* for *io* may indicate a further lowering of the tongue before the glide. *ea* for *a* in the Vesp. Psalter (and in *ealu*) presupposes a 'higher' pronunciation of *a* in the dialect of its scribe or his original ([a] or [æ])<sup>6</sup>.

#### 9. Influence of preceding palatal consonants.

A. Digraphs are used for primary palatal vowels (*æ* and *e*) and *e* by front mutation in Standard W.S. and for *a*, *o*, *u* in Standard W.S. and in Northumbrian Mss. It seems likely that those digraphs only indicate a palatal pronunciation of the preceding consonants. This is generally assumed if they are used for *a*, *o*, *u*, but can be inferred also if they stand for *æ* and *e*, because later W.S. *e* (and perhaps *i*) for *æ* and *e* may be due to a sound change after the palatal consonants (as M.E. N.E. *yis* for *yes*, *yisterday* for *yesterday*). If for *æ* and *a* *ea* is used, this is ambiguous, but a graph *eæ* was avoided for its clumsiness (cf. [æ] in *geaf* 'he gave', [æ:] in W.S. *gear* 'year', [ɑ] in *sceamu* 'shame', [ɑ:] in *scean* 'he shone'). *ie* for *e* is evident. *i* is the usual alternative of this graph, also when it means [iə], but a sound change due to the palatal is possible and seems to be the basis of some M.E. forms. *y*, the prevailing late W.S. Standard form, is probably due to the change of *ie* into *y* in other cases, but may also be a reverse spelling due to early unrounding of *y* after palatals (as *cining* for *cyning*). *eo* is used for [u], as in *geong* 'young' or *geoguð* 'youth'.

B. Later W.S. *e* for *ea* [æ] as in *gef* 'gave' etc. probably indicates a sound change due to the palatal, the more so as *æ* by this time may have meant [a]. It has to be kept apart from *e* for *ea* before *c*, *g*, *h* (see above 7).

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<sup>5</sup> See Sievers-Brunner, *Ae. Grammatik*, § 108, Anm. 4.

<sup>6</sup> For *ealu* see R. Weyhe, *P.B.B.* 31, 78 and Luick, *Hist. Gram.* § 231.

This paper was written before Miss M. Daunt laid some of the questions dealt with before the Second International Conference of University Professors of English in Paris on Aug. 28, 1953. The discussion did not induce me to alter my standpoint.

Note to p. 248, l. 4 fr. b.: Long vowels, however, do not seem to occur in O.E. before *rr*, *r* + cons., *ll*, *l* + cons. *rs* in *mærsian* 'celebrate' and *lð* in *sælð* 'happiness' are due to syncope.



## The Expression of Reciprocity

Reciprocity, or two-way reflexive relationship between agent and object, may be expressed in more ways than one. It may, of course, be inherent in the meaning of the verb. A meets B : B meets A. So A and B *meet* (*greet, embrace, hug, kiss, love, marry, or fight*). The speaker may feel no need or necessity to change the form of the verb or to add anything to it. The movement of action backwards and forwards from A to B and from B to A is adequately expressed by the simple verb within its context:

So they *lov'd*, as love in twain  
Had the essence but in one  
*The Phoenix and the Turtle, 25-6.*

In earlier periods of the language verbs other than those just named might thus imply reciprocal action,<sup>1</sup> for instance, see in Shakespeare:

Good morrow, and well met. How have ye done  
Since last we *saw* in France?  
*Henry VIII, I. i. 1-2.*  
When shall we *see* again?  
*Cymbeline, I. i. 124.*

Secondly, this cross-wise relationship may be expressed by the use of the Middle Voice as in Greek (*παρακελεύεσθαι* 'to encourage one another,' *ᾤσίζεσθαι* 'to jostle one another') or by the use of the reflexive form of the verb as in earlier English:

Ne þurfe we *us spillan*, gif ge spedað to þam  
*The Battle of Maldon, 34.*  
Beside, what infamy will there arise,  
When foreign princes shall be certified  
That for a toy, a thing of no regard,  
King Henry's peers and chief nobility  
*Destroy'd themselves*, and lost the realm of France!  
*1 Henry VI, IV. i. 143-7.*  
Get thee gone: tomorrow  
We'll *hear ourselves* again  
*Macbeth, III. iv. 31-2.*

What can they be doing, brother? — quoth my father, — we can scarce *hear ourselves*  
**talk**

Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, I. 21.

So Danish has the old reflexive ending<sup>2</sup> in *-s*. Drengene slas, Vi mødes; Czech, Jak jsme rádi, že my se máme; G. Die Liebende sehen sich jeden Tag; Wir müssen uns helfen; Fr. Lui et sa femme s'adorent; Les ouvrières se haïssent; Les voyageurs s'embrassent; Les enfants se donnent

<sup>1</sup> See Wilhelm Franz, *Die Sprache Shakespeares*<sup>4</sup> (1939), § 312, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 161.

des cadeaux; Ils se sont tués. In certain contexts, perhaps, the speaker may feel that he is running the risk of ambiguity and he will then make some addition for the sake of clarity: Czech, Jak jsme rádi, že my se máme (jeden druhého); G. Wir müssen uns (gegenseitig) helfen; Fr. Lui et sa femme s'adorent (l'un l'autre); Les ouvrières se haïssent (entr'eux, mutuellement, l'une l'autre, les unes les autres); Les enfants se donnent des cadeaux (l'un à l'autre); Ils se sont tués (l'un l'autre); necessary, perhaps, in this last instance since 'Ils se sont tués' might be taken to mean 'They have committed suicide' = Ils se sont tués eux-mêmes.<sup>3</sup>

This brings us to the third way of indicating reciprocal relationship, namely, by means of simple or reflexive verb with adverb or adverb phrase (G. gegenseitig, Fr. mutuellement, entr'eux). In Middle and early Modern English the adverb *together* sometimes fulfilled such a reciprocal function:

Pilgrymes and palmers plizted hem *together*  
To seke seynt James and seyntes in Rome  
*Piers Plowman* B, Prologue 46-7.

They met so near with their lips that their breaths embraced *together* <sup>4</sup>  
*Othello*, II. i. 266-7.

Sir, we have known *together* in Orleans  
*Cymbeline*, I. iv. 38

Wyclif likewise used this adverb to render the Latin *invicem* in the Vulgate version of John, XV. 12: Hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis *invicem*; This is my comaundement, that ze loue *to gidere*. Similarly Walter Hylton in *Scala Perfectionis* I. 11: This is my biddynge that ze love *togedder*; and so, too, William Tyndale in his translation of the New Testament of 1525: Thys ys my commaundment, that ye love *togedder*. The Authorized Version of 1611 has the pronominal phrase rendering the Greek reciprocal compound: This is my commandment, That ye love *one another*; αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἣ ἐμὴ, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.

The Greek coalesced form ἀλλήλους (contracted from ἄλλος-ἄλλον)<sup>5</sup> represents a more advanced stage linguistically than English *one another* of our fourth and last type of reciprocal, consisting of pronoun nominative + pronoun accusative (genitive or dative): Lat. *alius alium*; Czech *jeden druhého*; Russ. *drug druga*; Fr. *l'un l'autre*; Span. *el uno el otro*; Ital. *l'uno l'altro*; but G. *einander*; Dutch *elkaar, elkander*, (*malkaar, malkander*); Swed. *varandra*. The form *the one the other*, the exact counterpart of the French, Spanish and Italian forms just given, might be heard in the sixteenth century:

So they intersaluted *the one the other* and departed  
Mem. Henry VII (Rolls) 286.

<sup>3</sup> Otto Jespersen, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm Franz, *op. cit.*, § 312, Anm. 2; Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, s.v. *together* 4; O.E.D., s.v. *together*, adv. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Boisacq<sup>4</sup> s.v. ἄλλος.

The plural form *the ones the others* (or *the ones the other*, for *other* might be plural in Tudor English) was occasionally heard (like Fr. *les uns les autres*, Span. *los unos los otros*, Ital. *gli uni gli altri*) but it was never accepted into English. 'They greeted (saluted) *the ones the others* and then went their way' would have evoked no comment in Tudor times, and such a sentence would be fully intelligible to-day, but it would certainly sound stilted and unnatural. Thus *the one the other*, *one the other*, *one an other*, and *one another* have come into use since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries side by side with *either (the) other* and *each (one the) other* which had their antecedents in Old English. *Either other* becoming obsolete in the seventeenth century, English was left with two singular reciprocal compounds, *each other* and *one another*, corresponding respectively to Dutch *elkander* and G. *einander*, which showed no distinction in number. Nevertheless, my own teachers insisted that precise speakers of English should discriminate carefully between *Help each other*, addressed to two persons, and *Help one another*, addressed to three and more. It was made clear to me that the Romans used *alter* (\**al-* + comparative suffix *-tero-* as in Gk *ἑ-τερο-*) of 'one or other'<sup>6</sup> (of two)' and *alius* of 'one or other (of several)' and that I should therefore be careful to translate *Alter alterum amat* as 'They love each other' but *Alius alium amat* = *Inter se amant* as 'They love one another.' It was a matter of regret, my teachers said, that neither Shakespeare nor Milton had observed this distinction infallibly:

... when we are married and have more occasion to know *one another*  
*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I.i. 259-60  
 Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two  
 Imparadis't in *one anothers* arms  
*Paradise Lost*, IV. 505-6.

Whence arose this modern notion that *each other* should be used of two and *one another* of three and more? I can find no trace of it in the eighteenth century. 'To *each*' wrote Dr Johnson<sup>7</sup> 'the correspondent word is *other*, whether it be used of two, or of a greater number.' The contemporaries of Johnson who wrote textbooks on grammar — Joseph Priestley (1761), James Buchanan (1762), and Robert Lowth (1762) — made no mention of it. Even Lindley Murray, whose two-volume *English Grammar comprehending the Principles and Rules of the Language* (1795) covered so much ground, evaded this particular issue. Nor did the pugnacious William Cobbett say anything about it in his notorious *Grammar of the English Language* (1833), couched in the form of letters addressed to his son James, frankly prescriptive and proscriptive, 'intended for the use of schools and of young persons in general, but more especially for the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices, and plough-boys'. In his

<sup>6</sup> Unus ex duobus excluso tertio, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1731.

<sup>7</sup> Dictionary (1755), *s.v.* *each*.

revised edition of Johnson's Dictionary of 1866, however, Robert Gordon Lathom, who had preceded Arthur Hugh Clough and David Masson in the Quain Chair of English at University College, London, and who therefore enjoyed a considerable reputation as an authority on the Queen's English, went out of his way to make a long pronouncement on the expression of reciprocity. Archdeacon Henry John Todd, who had made himself responsible for the first major revision of Johnson in 1818, had there retained the master's original wording on *each*, quoted above. Now Lathom decided to interpolate a paragraph of his own. In it he deplored the deficiency of the English language in possessing no means of expressing multireciprocity to correspond with *les uns les autres* of French and *gli uni gli altri* of Italian, and then went on to recommend capriciously that *one another* should be used 'to express the reciprocal action of two', and *each other* 'to express the reciprocal action of more than two.'

Such a whimsical and arbitrary injunction was duly ignored by the greatest of all nineteenth-century philologists in England, Henry Sweet, who published the first part of his *New English Grammar* in 1891. Sweet felt bound to express an opposite view, but he refrained from being dogmatic. His statement was therefore brief: '*Each other* generally implies only two, *one another* more than two persons, though this distinction is not always strictly observed. Reciprocal pronouns are necessarily plural, because there is always a cross-relation between the subjects and the reciprocal pronouns. Thus *they help each other* means "A helps B, and B helps A"' (§ 210). A few years later, in his *Manual of English Grammar and Composition* (1898), John C. Nesfield substituted his own rigidity for Sweet's flexibility, and stated pontifically as an article not, it is true, of Grammar, but of Propriety of Diction, that *each other* 'is used for two things' and *one another* 'for more than two'. Nesfield has been followed by many compilers of school grammars in the present century, some more liberally<sup>8</sup> but others even more rigidly<sup>9</sup>. In America he has been followed, with slight reservations, by the editors of Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1926) and of Funk and Wagnalls *New Standard Dictionary* (1947). In his popular guide to correct usage<sup>10</sup>, John B. Opdycke states the rule simply and then adds laconically that it 'has so long been violated that it is no longer enforceable'. As we should expect, the editors of *The Oxford English Dictionary* are non-committal<sup>11</sup>, whereas Henry Watson Fowler exercises his customary wit<sup>12</sup>. Having cited the rule, he points out at once that 'the differentiation is neither of present utility nor based on historical usage; the old distributive of two as opposed to several was not *each* but *either*; and *either other*, which formerly existed

<sup>8</sup> E.g. J. H. G. Grattan and P. Gurrey, *Our Living Language*, London, 1925, p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. W. G. Bebbington, *An English Handbook*, Huddersfield, 1948, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Don't Say It: A Cyclopaedia of English Use and Abuse*. Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1943.

<sup>11</sup> S.vv. *each*, 5; *either*, 2d; *one*, 19; *another*, 7; *other*, 8.

<sup>12</sup> *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, Oxford, 1926, s.v. *each*.



beside *each other* and *one another*, would doubtless have survived if its special meaning had been required.' This argument, at first glance so brilliant and convincing, is unfortunately not borne out by the evidence. What precisely does Fowler denote by 'special meaning'? As P. A. Erades has stated so appositely in an earlier number of this Journal<sup>13</sup>, 'the difference between the two forms of expression is in most cases subjective: it does not depend upon objective facts, but upon the attitude of the speaker to these facts'. That the adjective-pronoun *either* (OE *æg(hwæ)þer* < \**aiw-gi-hwa-þar-*) has denoted 'each of two' throughout the history of English is incontrovertible, but that *either other* has functioned strictly as the reciprocal of two as an objective reality is disproved by its blurred and uncertain use in Middle English. Within the Old English period *ægþer* and *æghwæþer* referred invariably to two and the poet who commemorated *The Battle of Maldon* was careful to use *ægþer* when speaking of Byrhtnoth and his one Viking assailant —

Eode swa anræd eorl to þam ceorle:  
*ægþer* hyra oðrum yfeles hogode 132-3

Later, however, when Offa in that last twilight exhorted the survivors to fortify one another at need, he inevitably used *æghwylc* —

Nu ure þeoden lið  
 eorl on eorðan, us is eallum þearf  
 þæt ure *æghwylc* oþerne bylde  
 wigan to wige .....

In this, as in so many other respects, Old English writers kept linguistic distinctions clearer and simpler than their post-Conquest successors. Long before its passing into desuetude in the seventeenth century, *either other* had ceased to mean two and only two, and its loss implied at that time no certainty that its 'special meaning' was no longer required.

In the modern world, where our very survival rests on conscious interdependence and willing co-operation, we hear expressions of reciprocity every day. While recognizing with Fowler that the numerical differentiation between *each other* and *one another* has no historical justification, we may yet feel a desire to observe such a distinction in the best interests of precision and convenience. Why not put an edge on blunted tools? In other words, we may resolve to follow the advice of Eric Partridge<sup>14</sup> and observe the distinction as a 'practical utility' whereby 'one can be in no doubt that *They hit each other* refers to two persons, whereas *They hit one another* refers to three or more. Obviously, to follow the rule is to ensure economy of words.' In fact, however, for better or for worse, present-day speakers and writers, British, American, and Colonial, pay no heed to 'the rule'. After one year's sustained observation, I have to

<sup>13</sup> Points of Modern English Syntax XII. *English Studies*, 31 (1950), p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> *Usage and Abusage*, London, 1947, p. 100.

record that our two surviving compound reciprocals are now used throughout the world and at all speech levels quite indiscriminately and without regard to number as an objective reality. At the same time I rejoice that I am able to detect a growing tendency on the part of more sensitive speakers to conserve that finer and more thoughtful distinction which, in spite of the (remarkably recent) prescriptions of Nesfield, Mason, Weston, Bebbington, and other school grammarians, has persisted as a living inheritance from the great prose writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That discrimination, as Erades has said so eloquently, is determined by the subjective attitude of the speaker to what he is saying, and not by mechanical facts and figures. If the speaker is thinking first of *agents* as individuals or single units, he will say *each other*: if he is thinking first of *actions* as shared or mutual, he will say *one another*. That is, after all, the superior differentiation, and it seems to me to be in closer accord with the accepted traditions of the English language.

Liverpool.

SIMEON POTTER.

## On Some Synchronic Problems of Semantics

The following lines are intended to discuss some problems of lexical and structural (syntactic) semantics, problems which are partly connected with the distinction of 'language' ('langue') and 'speech' ('parole'), inaugurated by de Saussure, partly with the interpretation of structural meaning or syntactic valence. Needless to say, I do not claim originality for all of these problems because it is hardly possible to ascertain whether questions of similar kind have not been raised before here and there in the extensive and wide-spread literature on this subject<sup>1</sup>.

§ 1. I should like to take up first some problems concerning lexical meaning of words in the sphere of 'language' and 'speech'<sup>2</sup>. This distinction may be shortly defined in the following way: 'language' concerns the mnemonic elements of the linguistic material, 'l'ensemble des habitudes linguistiques' (de Saussure, *Cours*, p. 112) or 'the stock-in-trade of linguistic material which anyone possesses when he embarks upon "speech"' (Gardiner) — and it is perhaps not superfluous to remark that this mnemonic possession concerns the individual as well as the community —, by 'speech' on the other hand we understand the concrete, momentary, and living act of linguistic expression (whether in speaking or in writing), the realization and actualization of 'language' in the respective speech-situation.

I put the general question: in what way is the semantic side of the vocabulary affected by the transition from 'language' into 'speech'? Ullman whose *Principles* treat of problems of lexical semantics in 'language', took up this problem when speaking of the emotional colour of words<sup>3</sup>. Yet I think we are permitted to widen the sphere of this question concerning the interrelation of lexical semantics in 'language' and 'speech'.

I take a simple example from 'speech': 'The old man is in our garden'. 'man' and 'garden' in this context denote — in union with determiners — definite, individualized concepts, they name individual things or objects. Taken out of the context (or of the speech-situation) they are semantically

<sup>1</sup> As to my terminology: I distinguish between the formal (signifiant) and the semantic aspect (signifié). As to the former we have the word-form and (in the context) the group-form (word-order, stress, intonation); concerning the semantic side a necessary distinction must be made between lexical meaning (word-sense; Ullman) and, in the group-form, syntactic valence (structural function, structural meaning; e.g. whether a word functions as S or P or O etc.). As to 'word-sense' I use the terms 'to signify', 'to denote', in reference to the concept or thought, 'to name' in reference to the thing-meant, to the object in general. It is the distinction between 'bedeuten' and 'nennen'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gardiner, 'The Distinction of "Speech" and "Language"' (in: *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale dei Linguisti*; Roma 1933); *The Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford 1951<sup>2</sup>; Sechehaye, 'Les trois linguistiques Saussuriennes', *Vox romanica* V. 1-48 (1940) where S. surveys the fields of 'langue' and 'parole' (p. 11 ff.); Hjelmslev, 'Langue et Parole', *Cahiers F. de Saussure* II, 29-44 (1942); Malmberg, *Die Quantität als phonetisch-phonologischer Begriff* (Lund, 1944; p. 28 ff.); S. Ullman, *Principles of Semantics* (p. 29 ff. and passim), *Words and their Use* (p. 15 ff); both books 1951.

<sup>3</sup> *Principles*, p. 98 ff.

colourless, signifying general concepts (Allgemeinbegriffe: 'grown-up male'; 'piece of ground, devoted to growing flowers, fruit or vegetables'). This case seems typical of hundreds and hundreds of instances where a concrete noun — I exclude the so-called abstract nouns or nexus-words — is actualized in 'speech'. This actualization or concretization we might call the situational lexical meaning.

But there may be something more involved in this process. Looking up the word 'man' in the Concise Oxford Dictionary we find several and different lexical meanings, i.e. this word, as so many others, is polysemantic in 'language'. This polysemy is, as it were, abolished in 'speech', the speaker making a selection from the potential cluster of meanings a word may possess. Thus we may cautiously say: 'speech' creates monosemy.

This problem also comes in in those cases where isolated words (i.e. words in 'language') seem to belong to no definite word-class i.e. they are morphologically, lexically and syntactically indifferent; English 'like' is a polysemantic word with uniform phonemic and graphic structure. Yet in 'speech' it loses all this indefiniteness and gains actual word-sense and syntactic valence. A similar case may arise with homophones unless the different graphic image intervenes (e.g. [bɔ:] boar, bore).

§ 2. Ullman in his *Principles* referring to the time-honoured distinction of 'autosemantic' and 'synsemantic' words<sup>4</sup> seems inclined to classify pronouns together with articles, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliary verbs as 'particles' or mere syntactic tools because they lack the full semantic status and constitution of genuine words. Without dwelling long upon this principal problem I only want to say that nobody can deny a gradation in the semantic value of certain word-classes; that words like 'man', 'boy', 'garden' are more autarchic than 'adjectives' or 'verbs', as these, by their very nature, require some supplement; that prepositions and conjunctions rank perhaps lowest in this scale. These 'particles' — except pronouns — never have autonomous word-sense, and they only contribute by their syntactic valence to the sense of the group to which they belong. Yet if we appeal to the common-sense of the every-day speaker he would probably be astonished at the question whether English 'if', 'on', 'at' etc. are words or not. His answer would certainly be in the affirmative. It was de Saussure himself who pronounced a warning that the grammarian should not be too sophisticated in his reflexions, that he ought to take into consideration the ordinary speaker's natural feeling for his native language, and I think Bloomfield came near this natural feeling when he defined the 'word' as the 'minimum free form'. It was this consideration, together with others, which caused Marty<sup>5</sup> to define the 'word' semantically as the smallest speech-unit which is treated by the ordinary speaker as if it were a kind of semantic unit, and he added that even 'particles' ought to be considered as words as long as they evoke in the listener preparatory

<sup>4</sup> P. 58 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Psyche und Sprachstruktur* (Bern, 1940; p. 35 ff).



expectations concerning some necessary supplement. In this way words like 'in', 'at', 'on' adsignify local relations, 'if' would evoke the expectation of some conditional situation. Such prospective function can never be attributed to isolated inflexional endings and to most affixes, because — when isolated — they lack any meaning or syntactic valence whatsoever.

The pronouns (by which I understand here the so-called personal pronouns) cannot be grouped with those particles. In 'speech' they certainly have autarchic lexical meaning; they are either noun-substitutes (he, she, it) or they denote the personality of speaker resp. listener (I, you). In 'language' they lose this definiteness and signify an indefinite concept of something living or lifeless (he, she, it) or of an indefinite speaker resp. listener. In this respect they might be called determinable autosemantics because they, by their very nature, depend on the actual speech-situation.

A certain analogy to these pronouns seems obvious with proper names<sup>6</sup>. They are a very interesting phenomenon in the speaker's social community, they are distinctive labels which mark individualities. In a family a name like 'John' is a marker for one of its members, this name denotes an individual concept and serves, by its sound-form, as a kind of label. Outside the family or circle of acquaintances this name will lose its definiteness, the label will remain, yet the individual concept bound up with it will fade and turn into a kind of expectancy that the name belongs to some unknown male individual.

I think that especially with these two types of words, pronouns and proper names, the distinction of 'language' and 'speech' can be clearly demonstrated; as to their semantic nature they might be called 'situation-words'.

§ 3. What about the 'sentence' — does it belong to 'langue' or to 'parole'? Gardiner most emphatically declared that the 'sentence' as a purposeful, relatively complete (i.e. understandable) utterance was the unit of 'speech', whereas the 'word' was the unit of 'language'. He further remarked that elements of grammatical form (syntactic patterns: word-order, intonation types) belong to 'language'. I am in full agreement with this opinion and might perhaps add that, as a consequence, syntactic valencies (structural meanings) and situational meanings i.e. the semantic elements and structures of a spoken sentence belong to the sphere of 'speech'.

Now it seems a time-honoured axiom that any statement, whatever its grammatical form, must contain a logical Subject and Predicate, and that this bipartite structure is of universal validity, an opinion going back to Aristotelian logic. It is this point which I should like to question. Referring to F. Brentano's reform of logic and to the repeated statements by Marty<sup>7</sup> these thinkers seem to me to be right in the assumption that

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ullman, *Principles*, p. 73 f (with bibliography).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ges. Schriften* vol. II (part I) 'Über subjektlose Sätze'; *Psyche und Sprachstruktur*, p. 127 ff.

there are simple acts of judgment which do not show such a bipartite character. In English we have such well-known types as: 'it's a fine morning', 'it rains', 'there was much laughter' (with unstressed, non-demonstrative 'there') whose semantic analysis shows a simple assertion of a fact or situation; we might, semantically considered, equal such sentences with: 'a fine morning is', 'rain is', 'much laughter was', and such sentences of 'existence' are nothing else but simple judgments without logical S and P. As to other sentence-types, all the emotives (questions, exclamations, requests) cannot be said to have logical S and P. Space forbids to dwell any longer on this problem.

A final remark: when the grammarian deals with semantic interpretations — and he cannot avoid them — he ought to try to give satisfactory information. Fries, in his recent book *The Structure of English*,<sup>8</sup> has made the laudable attempt at analyzing first the formal structures and at interpreting then their 'structural meanings' (syntactic valences). I will select only one instance, the interpretation of the various 'Subject'-types. He sees in constructions with a full verb ('he works hard') the valence of 'performer of an action', in the type 'John is a teacher' the valence of 'identification', in that with a predicative adjective ('the tree is green') the valence of 'description'. This semantic exploration seems hardly satisfying. Real predication means in any case: 'identification'. I should like to ask: is there a semantic difference between: 'he works hard' and 'he is a hard worker'; 'he teaches well' and 'he is a good teacher'? I think any objective observer will answer this question in the negative. The difference lies, apart from formal structure, in a kind of semantic overtone which accompanies the 'finite' verb (or its -ing form) and gives it the halo of 'activity'. And this in cases where any real activity is excluded: 'he is sleeping', 'the walk is tiring', 'the leaves are fading', etc. In describing semantic valences the metaphorical character of language ought not to be neglected, it being a most important element in linguistic expression.

I hope that, in spite of this rough sketch of semantic problems, Herr Dieth will accept these lines as a token of our friendship.

Bern.

O. FUNKE.

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<sup>8</sup> New York, 1952.

## The Problem of the 'Hard Words'

It has often been stated that the so-called 'hard words' (many of the words of Latin and Greek origin) are a peculiar problem for the English language. They are — in the terms of the Geneva school — 'mots non relativement motivés', which means that a word like *hippopotamus* is not related to other words (as German *Nil-pferd*, Dutch *nijl-paard*) and thus lacks etymological support. Therefore, apart from the difficulties of spelling and pronunciation (e.g. in *hegemony* and *phthisis*) these words are, on the whole, a greater strain on the memory of the learner, and the uneducated speaker easily mixes them up, using *illiterate* instead of *illegitimate*, *missile* instead of *missive* etc. Funny as these Malapropisms may be for the hearer, they hold the speaker up to ridicule and are apt to make him socially impossible. Victor Grove even maintains that the hard words have erected 'a barrier more effective than wealth and status between the cultured minority and the uninstructed majority'<sup>1</sup>. Even if he has possibly somewhat overstated his case, the problem no doubt exists.

If Malapropisms are as gross as the ones mentioned, they are simply smiled upon, but if they are only slight (as *agnostic* for *atheist*) they tend to escape notice and even to be repeated. Thus, both from the ordinary speaker's as well as from the purist's point of view, a guide towards correct usage was badly wanted: this guide was the dictionary. In England it has never been, as in other countries, the hobby of a few patriotic antiquaries, but an elementary necessity for the whole nation. The title-pages of most of the early dictionaries indicate that the book contains an explanation of hard words<sup>2</sup>; this was not only an advertisement but almost the definition of an English Dictionary. In the hard words then, we have at least one root of the extraordinary development of English lexicography (and synonymics).

Despite the efforts of the dictionary-makers, many Malapropisms have ceased to be sporadic slips and have developed into regular usage, thereby acquiring the mark of correctness. The intermediary stage, where the usage is frequent but still considered erroneous, is marked in the OED with an extra sign of amazing frequency. It is to be expected therefore that hard words are inclined to show a more rapid semantic development than native words. Indeed, the meaning of many of the Latin words in modern English is altogether different from the meaning they have in Latin or most of our contemporary European languages; cf. *sensible*, *pathetic*, *profane*, *antic*, *attractive*, *emergency*, *realize*, *facility*. Recently, *alibi* shows a tendency simply to mean excuse and *allergic* is now often used in the sense of: feeling antipathy or repugnance<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In: *The Language Bar*. London 1949/1950.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the facsimiles in: DeW. T. Starnes and G. E. Noyes, *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604-1755*. Chapel Hill 1946.

<sup>3</sup> For further examples see Edwin L. Johnson: *Latin Words of Common English*, New York and London 1931, and Paul C. Berg: *A Dictionary of New Words in English*, London 1953.

Still more important, although perhaps less commonly known, are the effects of the hard words upon the rest of the English vocabulary. It has often been stated that the English language is particularly rich in common nouns which were originally proper names, e.g. *china*, *bedlam*, *maudlin*, *Kodak*<sup>4</sup>. We have been able to witness a development of this kind in the widespread adoption of *Hoover* for *vacuum-cleaner*. *Vacuum-cleaner* is not only a scientific term, it is also awkward in so far as the vacuum is not the most characteristic feature of the object. It was therefore natural that this long term did not easily find acceptance with housewives, but was reduced to *vac* or, since Hoover was the most widespread type, a vacuum-cleaner simply became a *Hoover*. Only a pedantic foreigner would answer the question 'Have you got a Hoover?' with 'No, we have got a *Vampirette*'. It will be a matter of historical research to find out how many of these new formations are substitutes for a hard word which was prevented by its lack of lucidity from becoming popular.

Besides these developments, we find other types of popular substitutes for hard words. A good example is supplied in the widening of the popular concept of fish by the words *crayfish*, *starfish* and *jelly-fish*. Whereas the German word *Walfisch* is only hesitatingly used and sometimes even accompanied by apologies, the English quite naturally tolerate the expression *fish* for animals which are far outside the genus *pisces*. These differences must not by any means be attributed to a difference of national psychology. They are the outcome of the specific structure and development of the English vocabulary. *Crayfish* is a popular etymology from French *crevisse* (OHG *krebiz*); this popular term has obviously survived because the other expressions *cancer* and later-on *crustacean* were too scientific and 'hard' to become serious competitors. The case of *jelly-fish* is probably similar: the zoological term *medusa*, which associates the paralyzing serpentlike tentacles with a mythological figure, could hardly appeal to the people at large. Popular language therefore retained its own terms *sea nettle*, *sea jelly*, *blubber* (used among sailors) and, finally, *jelly-fish* which has prevailed over the rest. The third animal is termed by the scientists *asterias*; the popular words *sea-star* and *starfish* were very probably in use before their first literary appearance in the sixteenth century. *Sea-star* has possibly been weakened by its second meaning: star which guides mariners.

Thus the result of this development is a divergency between the zoological and the practical concept of fish. The popular terms should not be called substitutes for the hard words since very probably they existed before them: up to the time when modern zoology gave a strict definition of the genus *pisces*, any sea animal could be called *fish*. The *merefixas* in Beowulf (549) can *sit* (564); they are sea monsters but no fish in the strict sense. Since the hard words have not become popular, they were

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E. Partridge, *Name into Word*. London <sup>2</sup>1950.



not successful in replacing the old conception of fish by a new and zoologically 'correct' one.

If the hard words have here helped to retain old formations, they have on the other hand given rise to new expressions which are often typical of the English language. The sensitivity of a photographic film is termed in German *Empfindlichkeit*, in French *sensibilité*, in Italian *sensibilità*, in Spanish *sensibilidad* etc. In English, the word *sensitivity* (which is already a different term) is very frequently replaced by *speed*, and a sensitive film is simply called a *fast film*. The quality of the film has thus been given a new name, very probably again to avoid the hard word. This new name also looks at the object from a different angle: the other languages state that the reaction of the film is a strong one, English, that it is quick. This example seems rather convincing, but we must bear in mind that the French language, too, can speak of *rapide* and *rapidité* in this connection; we are therefore not quite sure yet on which side of the Channel the new coinage originated.

A more obvious case is the word *sparking-plug*, German *Zündkerze*, French *bougie d'allumage*, Italian *candele d'accensione*. The German, French and Italian words are derived from *Zündung*, *allumage*, *accensione*, in other words, from the purpose of the object; also the second element, *Kerze*, *bougie*, *candele*, refers to its function. The reason for the difference in *sparking plug* is obviously this: the combustion engine was invented in the laboratory i.e. among scientists, and in these surroundings the hard word *ignition* was the natural term to be used. After prolonged experiments with gas flames and incandescent mantles, the electric spark was finally used for the purpose of igniting, and it was in that moment that the engine became practically applicable, in other words it left the realm of the scientist for that of the practical engineer, who had no use for a learned compound derived from *ignition*. The term *sparking plug* which was then coined is not only an easy word but differs greatly from its German, French and Italian equivalents. It does not tell us anything about the function of the object but simply refers to the two outstanding visual elements viz. the shape of the thing and the spark it produces. It is true that *plug* also contains a functional element, but this refers to the fitting by the serviceman and has nothing to do with the functioning of the engine. This then is the effect of the hard word: it gives rise to a popular substitute which, unlike its equivalent in other languages, has broken the connection with the teleological nomenclature of science and clings to that which is visible and palpable.

The most obvious effect of hard words, however, does not consist in new coinages of this type, but in a phenomenon which might be termed semantic short-circuit. If an Englishman wants to express the meaning of German *nachdenken*, French *réfléchir*, he is faced with a vast number of subtly differentiated synonyms, *reflect*, *reason*, *ponder*, *cogitate*, *consider*, *deliberate*, *contemplate*, *meditate*, *muse*, *ruminate* (cf. Roget's Thesaurus, 451). Whereas the writer will be able quietly to select the *mot juste*,

the speaker will be led by this *embarras de richesse* to a kind of semantic short-circuit. He will probably choose none of these words at all, but use *think* instead. The same happens if the speaker has to express German *glauben*, French *croire*. Among the words which the language offers to him (*think, hold, take, opine, trow, ween, suppose, assume, surmise, presume, believe*) *think* will at once strike him as being the simplest. Thus the meanings of *croire* and *réfléchir* are added to the basic meaning of *think*. This expansion of meaning is not impossible with German *denken* and French *penser*, but it is not nearly so frequent there.

The historic development of this section of the English vocabulary has naturally been uneven. Old English had, besides *þencan*, at least *wēnan*, *hycgan*, *truwian* and their derivatives, which could be surveyed with comparative ease, although they were not quite rationally allotted to strictly distinct functions. With the afflux of the Romance words, *hycgan* died out, *truwian* and *wēnan* became archaic and rare; everybody who for some reason or other avoided the hard words was therefore reduced to *think* which was thereby 'filled to the brim' with different functions.

It is an obvious fact that the modern English vocabulary shows quite a number of words which are similarly crowded with different meanings. It will be a matter of historical research to find out the cases in which the expansion of meaning is actually due to the avoidance of 'hard' synonyms and neighbours. This seems to hold good for a word like *job* which originally meant a certain piece of work and now also stands for *post, position, achievement, performance, and labour* (*he has got a job, they have done a splendid job, it was quite a job*), and for *glass*, which widely replaces the hard words *telescope, binocular, spectacles, and barometer*.

We are probably not far from the truth, if we maintain that the extension of meaning which many of these native words have undergone since the OE period, is in some way or other due to the hard words. This semantic tendency is in fact obvious, it may be observed especially in some verbs: *go* originally meant 'walk', *run* 'to run on one's feet', *put* 'thrust', *set* 'place', *give* and *take*, 'give and take with one's hand'. All these, and, moreover, *fall, turn, stand, lay, pull*, and others have now entirely lost their restriction to a definite subject or object; they need not now denote any specified muscular activity, but have become elementary dynamic 'operators', which can be used in all possible connections and for all sorts of movements, human and otherwise. This universal adaptability of some verbs makes English particularly suitable as a starting point for a simplified language. Indeed, Basic English makes use of only eighteen 'operators' (including auxiliary verbs); it furnishes the proof that 850 English words can perform the functions of all the rest, at least in a makeshift way.

Helpful as the expanded meanings may be, they often give rise to certain ambiguities, of which there are already enough owing to the great number of English homophones. The situation and context usually give sufficient meaning to words of this kind, but it is obviously not a mere coincidence that the linguists who deny an isolated word any meaning (Ogden, Richards,

de Laguna, Gardiner, Firth, Bloomfield, and others) are either English or American.

The specific structure of the modern English vocabulary presents linguistics with a dilemma of its own. One of the successful branches of contemporary word study is the Feld-method, which was originated in its present form by Jost Trier. Since the words of one field of synonyms are semantically dependent on each other, it was found advisable to study not the isolated word, but the whole field. From its structure (differentiation, subdivision) we can derive the conceptual categories and thereby the *Weltanschauung* of a period or nation. However successful this method has proved for the Old and Middle English period (cf. the dissertations by G. Juzi and S. Wyler on the concept of beauty), it is confronted with great difficulties as far as modern English is concerned. Here we often find two fields on top of each other, one being subtly differentiated into many categories (cf. *reflect, consider, reason, ponder, cogitate, meditate, deliberate* etc.), the other filled by one single word like *think*. It is certainly not legitimate to consider *think* simply a part of the more differentiated field, since it can, and very often does, stand for all the other words. Which of the two fields should be taken as the basis for an inquiry into English conceptual categories, is a highly problematical question. There are reasons in favour of either of them: the Latin one, because its subdivisions are familiar to many English speakers and most English writers, the simple one, because it appears more often and is, for many speakers, the only one. Here, then, is an obstacle for the field-method which, so far, has not been overcome.

It has been said that many of the simple words like *do, take, set, put*, or the noun *set*, acquire meaning only in connection with other words. It is natural that they should in certain cases cleave to their neighbours and thus form set phrases or idioms. Many of these can be shown to be substitutes for hard words. For the meaning of Latin *adscribere*, English has no semantic borrowing like German *zuschreiben*, but has taken over three words from Latin: *attribute, ascribe, and impute*. It is by no means easy to distinguish between them; Johnson's definition 'We usually ascribe good, but impute evil' must be questioned nowadays. Therefore, in colloquial English, none of the three are used, and the phrase *to put down* takes their place ('I put it down to too much Beethoven', Forster, *A Room with a View*). The substitution of phrases for hard words is frequent in the field of mental processes: *to pass out, to come to, to come round*, may be explained by the tendency to avoid the difficult word *consciousness*; *make up one's mind* stands for *decide*, *to be put out* for *to be disconcerted*<sup>5</sup>. The very simplicity of some of these idioms makes them difficult for the foreign student. They, too, are in a way 'mots non relativement motivés', since their idiomatic meaning cannot be deduced

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<sup>5</sup> For further fields see: A. C. Baugh, *A History of the English Language*. London 1952, p. 411.

from the meaning of their components: the knowledge of *come* and *round*, *take* and *in*, is hardly any help for the understanding and remembering of *come round* and *take in* in their idiomatic senses. Mistakes in the translation of English idioms are therefore all too common, and teachers must be advised to make ample use of books like Henderson's *Dictionary of English Idioms*<sup>6</sup>.

Zürich and Kiel.

ERNST LEISI.

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<sup>6</sup> B. L. K. Henderson, *A Dictionary of English Idioms*, Pt. 1: Verbal Idioms; Pt. 2: Colloquial Phrases. London 1947; L. P. Smith, *Words and Idioms*. London 1925; M. Dixon, *English Idioms*. London, New York, n.d.

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# Notes on the Intonation of Coordinate Sentences and Syntactic Groups

In a former study<sup>1</sup> I made some observations on the intonation of complex sentences, in particular of those comprising adverbial clauses. It is the purpose of the present article to consider some aspects of the intonation of coordination, i.e. of compound sentences and elements of the sentence. As before, my main object is the direction of the intonation-turn, rising or falling. In Section III pitch will also be touched upon, and Section IV deals with stress.

## I

In the majority of cases only the last intonation-turn of a compound sentence is semantically relevant; its function corresponds to that of the final intonation-turn of any enunciative sentence: a fall makes the utterance into a conclusive statement, a rise into some kind of modified statement. The intonation of the preceding sense-groups is largely a matter of individual style. Some speakers have a preference for the fall, others for the rise. It is also a matter of national speech habits. Contrary to German and French, English has a marked preference for the fall in non-final sense-groups, e.g.

She 'shook \ hands and said she was 'glad she had \ come. A & W, 26<sup>2</sup>.

I'll 'come and 'sit by the \ fire and 'get \ warm, and 'then I shall 'feel \ comfortable. A & W, 33

I am 'not so 'bright as to 'dazzle your \ eyes, and I 'never \ scorch you, P 46

She can re-'peat 'whole \ sentences and 'knows what they \ mean. E § 23

However, we recognize certain tendencies which are above individual speech habits. These will be considered now.

1) When two coordinate sentences are similar, varying only in one

<sup>1</sup> 'Intonation, Word-order, Provisional "it".' *English Studies* XXVII p. 129-141. — The tone marks are the same as in that article and as in *E. S.* XXX p. 262-265. — The quotations are from the same books. Here, as before, I was sometimes in doubt whether to adduce quotations, when everyday speech furnishes us with copious examples. But the texts at our disposal, especially those by Sweet, are so judiciously chosen and so carefully transcribed, that it has proved advisable to take as many illustrations as possible from the handbooks. The quotations are from the following books:

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|--|-------|
| Armstrong and Ward: A Handbook of English Intonation.  | A & W |
| H. Sweet: A Primer of Spoken English.                  | P     |
| „ Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch.             | E     |
| Dorothée Palmer: Phonetic and Tonetic Transcription of |       |
| The Mollusc by H. H. Davies.                           | M     |

<sup>2</sup> The authors make the following remark regarding this and similar examples: 'If in the speaker's mind the logical connection is very close, the first intonation group may be said with the second tune. But there are so many cases in connected speech where we have to rise at the end of the first group that it is a relief to fall when a choice is at all possible.'

predicative word, / \ is the prevailing pattern. By giving this word a rise in the first sentence and a fall in the second, the speaker unconsciously intensifies the symmetry of the group, e.g.

The sun says: I make the / fruit ripen, and I make the \ corn ripen. P 45  
It's 'fine to- / day, and it will be 'fine to-'morrow \ too. P 51

The rise is almost compulsory with symmetrical pairs of an adversative character, e.g.

On 'this side is / glory, on 'that side is \ shame.  
'There you are a / slave, 'here you are \ free.

On the other hand a fall seems to be called for when the varying elements are synonyms, so that the second sentence is a paraphrase of the first. Here the intonation underlines the parallelism of the two sentences, e.g.

On 'this side is \ glory, on 'this side is \ fame.  
(I love children) 'Children are \ innocent, 'children are \ pure.

There is a touch of rhetoric in this correspondence between sentence-form and intonation.

2) In certain cases the melodic pattern of coordinate sentences can also have a grammatical function, e.g.

I can 'talk 'French my / self, but I 'cannot under'stand it when it is \ spoken.  
E § 45

Here the rise is not only a device of style, underlining the difference between speaking and understanding; it adds a note of concession to the first sentence. It is as if I said: Though I can talk..... When in the speaker's mind the first sentence is concessional, it is bound to end with a rise, for there is no other mark of distinction, e.g.

I 'didn't feel very / well, but the 'work had to be \ done.  
It was 'pouring with / rain, but there was 'no 'holding him \ back.

A subordinate clause of concession, on the other hand, may have either a fall or a rise at the end, e.g.

Though it was 'pouring with / [ \ ] rain, there was 'no 'holding him \ back.

A parallel case is that of imperatives in the function of conditional clauses, e.g.

'Tell him to / do a thing, (and) he will do e'xactly the \ contrary.  
'Give him that / toy, (and) he will 'break it at \ once.

Here the first part could not have a falling intonation. 'Give him that \ toy, he will 'break it at \ once' has an altogether different meaning.

## II

Compound elements of a sentence can form separate sense-groups in the same way. With groups of two the separation is rare and serves a special purpose. The best-known case, pointed out in every handbook, is that of two elements linked by the conjunction 'or', when the sentence is interrogative.

Will you have / tea or \ coffee ?

is an alternative question ;

Will you have \tea or / coffee ? (= a **hot drink**)

is a general question.<sup>2a</sup>

Occasionally it may be necessary to make a similar distinction with copulative pairs, e.g.

What will you have ? \Bread and \ butter. \Ham and \ eggs.  
What do we need ? /Bread and / butter. /Ham and / eggs.

But otherwise, pairs linked by 'and' normally form one sense-group.<sup>3</sup>

With three or more coordinate elements, i.e. with enumerations, each member forms a separate sense-group. An enumeration is mostly the predicate of the sentence; only this case will be considered here.

1. An enumeration with a fall on the last member conveys an impression of finality: we have exhausted the possibilities, have mentioned all that there is to be mentioned. The preceding members are mostly pronounced with a rise. The last two members can, but need not be linked by 'and'. In colloquial speech all the members are sometimes linked. E.g.:

He was good at all outdoor sports, / running / jumping \leaping with the / pole  
/ wrestling \ swimming. P 50  
The most important of the other colours are / blue / yellow and \ red. E § 7  
They went to / Venice and / Florence and \ Rome. E § 73

2. In colloquial speech, however, it happens just as often that all the members have a falling intonation. In this case the conjunction normally precedes each member. This pattern is also possible with groups of two members. E.g.:

I must get some \hay to 'build my \ nest with, and some \ moss, and some \ wool.  
P 49

<sup>2a</sup> The most recent — and most detailed — study of the intonation of alternative questions is by W. R. Lee: *Intonations Involving Choice and Exemplification*. *Maître Phonétique* 1953 p. 2-5.

<sup>3</sup> In German, with its great number of single-stress compounds, a melodic and a grammatical device distinguish the two types of syntactic groups. cf. \Milch und \ Brot; \ Milchbrot, \Häuser und \ Meer; \ Häusermeer, \Berg und \ See; \ Bergsee.

There were no end of \ forests, and \ lakes, and \ waterfalls. E § 72  
 It's the most artful creature; it \ wriggles, and \ squirms, and even \ fights  
 from the instinct not to advance. M 21  
 It is so \ cosy, and \ personal. M 14

The difference between the two melodic patterns is one of apperception. In the first case the apperception is comprehensive: from the start, the speaker has all the items he will mention in mind. In the second, his apperception of what he will name is gradual. That is why each member has a fall and is preceded by 'and'; for it might be the last.<sup>4</sup>

3. A rise on each member, including the last, characterizes the enumeration as susceptible of continuation, e.g.:

We've had such good / walks and / talks and games of / chess. M 3  
 I should have thought you might / read and / study. M 2

Also \ \ \ \ may have this connotation, though 'and so on', or a similar phrase, is mostly appended, e.g.:

... that his \ wife des\cended from \ some \ lord, or \ arch\bishop, or something  
 of \ that sort. E § 52

The curious animals and birds he saw: \ otters \ badgers \ polecats \ hawks  
 \ jays, and no \ end of \ other strange creatures. P 51<sup>6</sup>

4. There is another intonation pattern yet, namely \ \ \ \ \ . It is only possible with enumerations of at least four members, i.e. with at least two falls before the rise. Here the conjunction before the last member is indispensable; the rise in tone calls for the link-word. How can this peculiarity be accounted for? I submit the following explanation. By changing the direction of the intonation-turn on the penultimate member, the speaker makes this element into the first of a group of two. Now the members of such a group must be linked, to distinguish the phrase from a compound or from an attributive group. Cf.:

I understand Swiss and German — I understand Swiss German  
 I went to Ithaca and New York — I went to Ithaca, New York  
 (in the state of N.Y.)

<sup>4</sup> The difference between these two melodic patterns has been pointed out by several grammarians. Cf. Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar*, p. 26; Poutsma: Gr. L.M.E. I, 1, p. 550.

<sup>6</sup> In German, where a fall on each member is much less common than in English, the use of this pattern can be very expressive. Jespersen (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 15.62) quotes the sentence: 'Auf dem Tisch lagen in bunter Unordnung: eine Pi\stole, einige \ Noten, ein paar \ Aschenbecher, vier, fünf ungebundene \ Bücher, ein schmutziger \ Kragen, einige alte \ Zeitungen, eine halbgerauchte Zi\garre, eine \ Peitsche u.s.w.' He remarks that the fall on each member intensifies the impression of a chaotic jumble conveyed by the words.

In French the same effect is obtained by placing an 'accent d'insistance' on the first syllable of each falling group, e.g.: Elles avaient des bagages à n'en plus finir: "douze va\lises, "huit\malles, "six cartons à cha\peaux, "deux\chiens, "des couvertures de vo\yage, "des para\pluies, enfin c'était presque un déménagement. (Coustenoble and Armstrong: *Studies in French Intonation*, § 416).



The same applies to the end of an enumeration with this melodic pattern. Cf.:

I understand \ French I \talian \ Spanish / Swiss and \ German  
 I understand \ French I \talian \ Spanish / Swiss \ German (or more  
 commonly \Swiss \ German)

A sequence of short, similar sentences can likewise have this intonation-pattern, and the sentence following upon the rise is then most naturally, though not necessarily, introduced by the conjunction, e.g.:

The \horses were \ neighing, the \cows were \ lowing, the \oxen were /  
 bellowing, and the \pigs were \ grunting.<sup>6</sup>

### III

Though pairs or successions of short, similar q u e s t i o n s are not compound sentences, as the answers intervene between them, they often have melodic patterns corresponding to those described in the preceding sections.

The intonation of pairs of questions is similar to that of coordinate statements. When two questions vary only in one element, this variation is underlined by the tune, e.g.:

\How much is 'two and \ two? And \two and / four?  
 \Where is \ John just now? And / Mary?

The intonation of three or more similar questions is not unlike that of enumerations. The current patterns are / / / \ and / / / /. In addition to the alternative fall/rise, or instead of it, there is a change of pitch on the last member. On the last question the voice either rises higher or drops lower than before. The change of pitch does not only characterize this question as the last, it frequently adds something to its meaning, as is illustrated by the following examples:

Are you / married? Have you any / children? Have you a good / job?  
 Have you a house of your / own? Are you / happy? Or: Are you \ happy?  
 (= now I am touching upon the central problem. Or: I am not so sure of it.)  
 Guessing game: Is it a \live? Is it an / animal? Does it live in this / house?  
 ... Is it your \ cat? (= Then it must be your cat).  
 \Where was 'Dante / born? \Where did he 'spend his / youth? .....  
 \Where did he 'live / later? ..... (And) \where did he \ die?

<sup>6</sup> In other languages, too, there is this interdependence of tune and syntactic form. An instance in point is furnished by Rousselot-Laclotte, *Précis de prononciation française*, Paris 1902, p. 92 sqq.: Il (Roland) se prend à se souvenir de plusieurs choses: de tant de terres qu'il a con\quises, de la douce \ France, des hommes de son li\gnage, de Charlemagne, son seigneur qui l'a éle\vé, et des Français dont il est si ai\mé. This tune was ascertained instrumentally.

<sup>7</sup> In German, where adverbs are not distinct in form from adjectives, stress and intonation are grammatically relevant also in cases like the following: Das Buch ist ungewöhnlich (,) reichhaltig und interessant. (Example taken from Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, 5th ed., p. 216.)

Here, as with enumerations, the tension can be heightened by a melodic change already on the last question but one, e.g.:

ˈWhere was ˈDante ˈborn? ˈWhere did he ˈspend his ˈyouth? ... ˈWhere did he ˈlive ˈlater? (And) ˈwhere did he ˈdie?

## IV

A last point must be touched upon, though it primarily concerns stress, and only incidentally affects intonation. It was pointed out in Section II 4 that two copulative substantives must be linked by 'and', to distinguish them from closer groups. The same holds good for adjectives. Cf.:

My ears are red and hot — They are red hot.  
This painter's skies are dark and grey — They are dark grey.

In attributive position, however, the link-word is not needed, in fact it rarely appears. Here the distinction is one of stress. Every student of English phonetics knows that when a double-stress word is followed or preceded by a single-stress one, so that a sequence of three full stresses would result, the middle stress is dropped or at least considerably weakened. But such weakening does not take place if the three full stresses occur on three independent words. Cf.:

a ˈnice ˈeasy ˈchair — a ˈnice, ˈeasy ˈtext  
to ˈrun ˈup a ˈbill — to ˈrun ˈup a ˈhill

Groups like

a ˈlight, ˈcomfortable ˈdress; a ˈdark, ˈwintry ˈsky

contrast with

a ˈlight blue ˈdress; a ˈdark grey ˈsky

and are therefore unequivocal.<sup>7</sup>

Basel.

MARIA SCHUBIGER.

## Remarks upon Field Work for an English Linguistic Atlas of England

In his review of *A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England* by Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton, in *English Studies* Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, June 1953, p. 128, Dr A. Sassen writes that 'as the Introduction shows, the list [i.e. the *Questionnaire*] is intended to be worked through in its entirety at one sitting'. This misapprehension, in an otherwise most sympathetic and perceptive review, probably arises from the omission in the book of any information upon the point except for the statement that 'We cannot take a farm-worker away from his work for five days or so at a stretch' (Introduction, p. vii). Accordingly, the authors cannot complain of any misunderstanding in this connection, though in mitigation it might be pleaded that in another article simultaneously in the press 'the time we reckon it will take the field-worker to investigate one place' is specified as one week (see 'The New Survey of Dialectal English' by Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth in *English Studies Today*, ed. C. L. Wrenn and G. Bullough, O.U.P. 1951, p. 72). Dr Sassen can be readily excused for not knowing of the existence of a report of perhaps only transitory interest, but in order that readers of *English Studies* and similar periodicals should be apprised of the facts, this brief statement about the methods employed by fieldworkers now pursuing, under the authors' direction, investigations with the *Questionnaire* in England, is submitted to the distinguished Editor on the off-chance that he might deem it worthy of inclusion in the Dieth Anniversary Number.

It may be mentioned in the first place that one of the main factors determining the amount of time to be allocated to recording a given locality is the density of the network. A reasonable minimum network for the whole of rural England would seem to comprise about 300 places (cf. *English Studies Today*, p. 67), but there is much justification for believing that for an entirely satisfactory survey, and one that should include towns and cities, this number would have to be raised to something like 500. Accordingly, a decision was early made by the authors to reduce the *Questionnaire* to such a size that it could be conveniently answered within one week. Experience has shown that the fieldworker's task can only very rarely be carried out successfully within as few as five days, even though working intensively under the most favourable conditions. He usually takes six, sometimes seven, and in unusually difficult localities even eight days before finishing the recording. Conditions of course vary regionally, and the most significant differences are not social but primarily geographical. In the North of England densely populated areas are the rule. What Southerners might call a town, we in the North would regard as a village, and their village would with us often be no more than 'a few houses'. So far, the Survey has mostly been carried out in the North Country, and the following account of the fieldworker's procedure is largely

based upon this experience. Judging from recent investigations in Oxfordshire, where many villages have in the last few years quickly developed into dormitory towns, conditions in the Thames Valley today seem likely to prove difficult, thwarting, and time-wasting to a fieldworker. Satisfactory informants are going to be much more difficult to search out and the length of his stay will be correspondingly increased. With these preliminary remarks made, we may now turn to describing a typical recording-programme day by day.

Day One. Unheralded and a complete stranger to the locality, but usually with a certain amount of knowledge of its linguistic character gained from A. J. Ellis's *On Early English Pronunciation*, Pt V, or from his own independent investigations just previously undertaken at a place in the network not far away, the fieldworker arrives in the locality by car, preferably in the morning, and at once carries out a quick reconnaissance. Like any other locality in the network, it will be a rural community of, by choice, some 400 or 500 people (cf *English Studies Today*, p. 66). Places of such a size may as a rule be counted upon to preserve a well-marked local dialect and, at any rate in Northern England, to house half a dozen people of 60 to 80 years of age who are genuine natives and the children of natives, who have lived most of their lives there, who have 'good heads, good mouths, good hearing and good eyesight', who use the local dialect in ordinary conversation and who have the time and interest to accept quite voluntarily the burden of answering one or more of the 9 'Books', or sections, of the *Questionnaire*.

Having quickly got his bearings, the fieldworker forthwith begins his search for suitable informants. This often entails a call on the local schoolmaster or schoolmistress, the village clergyman or minister, or a shopkeeper — in this connexion the postmaster or postmistress can be specially helpful. He may even accost some elderly person standing about with apparently nothing to do. He then explains who he is and the nature of his mission as fully as is necessary both to obtain their immediate attention and to establish their confidence in his credentials and the genuineness of his project. Having now secured their interest, if not their confidence, he asks their aid in finding suitable informants. Then with names and addresses in his pocket, the fieldworker begins his calls upon the potential informants in their own homes, and endeavours to gain their sympathy for his work and, if he thinks them likely to prove satisfactory, to arrange times when he can see them at home at their leisure in order to record their answers to the *Questionnaire*. It may here be recalled that the *Questionnaire* is to be used in the 'peace and quiet of the informant's own home' (cf Introduction, p. vii). Indeed, it is so constructed that only in cases of doubt or of the need for further information or explanation need the inquiries be carried on out of doors in front of the object in question. Pictures and diagrams, together with the ability to gesticulate and imitate, form an essential part of the fieldworker's equipment. During these brief preliminary interviews, the fieldworker will



obtain the address of suitable accommodation for himself during his stay in the locality, for the informants, helpers and advisers usually like a fieldworker to live amongst them during the few days allocated to the particular locality and thus have the opportunity of getting to know him. Moreover, they also like to discuss amongst themselves their (totally unexpected) visitor and his extraordinary mission, as well as to assess his quality as a person. He accordingly openly shows himself in the locality and does not hesitate to pass the time of the day with the inhabitants, but of course only when they themselves indicate that such a familiarity would not be unwelcome. The accommodation secured, and a meal taken, during which the fieldworker takes stock of the situation and finds out from his landlord or landlady a few facts about the lives and interests of his informants, as well as about persons and personalities in the village, the fieldworker can now, the very same evening of the day of his arrival, set out with high hopes to obtain his first recording. By the end of Day One the fieldworker will feel himself pretty well established in his new locality, be confident of success, have living-accommodation at his disposal, be able to rely upon promises of help from three or four likely informants, and have a specimen of the dialect in his recording-book. If, as is now the case with the present fieldworker, Mr Stanley Ellis, who succeeded Mr. Peter Wright in 1952, the fieldworker is able to take his own housing round with him in the shape of a caravan, so much the better for him and the Survey; the living conditions are more attractive, and the cost of accommodation is considerably less too.

Day Two marks the beginning of recording in earnest, but as a rule, and owing to the pre-occupations of the selected informants, the work can rarely begin until early in the afternoon. Many informants seem to be disinclined to be disturbed before midday. If women, they have household duties to cope with; if they are men who have given up working, there is often nowhere at home to sit down in peace, for menfolk get in the way of a busy housewife who wants to clean up the living-room — by far the best place for the fieldworker's interview — and at that time of the morning it cannot be left in possession of the husband and his caller for anything like  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 hours needed by the fieldworker to get any of the nine books of the Questionnaire satisfactorily answered. Accordingly, in the mornings the fieldworker is busy with his affairs and his administration, and does not begin his daily recordings until the afternoon. But recording in the evening produces by far the best results, for it is then that the informant can take his ease in his own living-room, along with his wife, and perhaps an adult son or daughter. No longer does it surprise us to find that a recording in the informant's home can be of such interest as to draw the other members of the family into the inquiry. They too want to hear the good old words and phrases evoked by the Questionnaire. All our informants and their families are usually astonished, and sometimes fascinated, by the content of their own vocabulary.

In some localities one or two of the male informants may turn out to be

occupied during the day because they have paid employment to perform and so cannot be free till after tea, about 6 p.m. or even later. This is particularly the case in summer, during harvesting and haymaking. This is a misfortune for the fieldworker, who may well be obliged to sacrifice the help of his best informant. He must then set about finding informants who can be readily available at his convenience; and of course, during the afternoon he can often secure the help of a woman informant. Women are specially valuable in answering the domestic and human parts of the Questionnaire, viz. Books V, VI, VII, and VIII on respectively 'The House and Housekeeping', 'The Human Body' and 'Numbers, Time and Weather'. Moreover, they are eminently successful in answering those Books that contain the syntactical questions, viz. VIII and IX on respectively 'Social Activities' and 'State, Actions, Relations'. Whereas, during our earliest investigations when we had had little experience of putting our questions, the occasional male informant may have been a little bored when (virtually) asked to conjugate a verb — one farmer, after one of the questions, suddenly burst out 'By G— you're examining me!' — women invariably delight in being confronted with such sequences as 'Never drop a tumbler on the floor, because it's bound to... *break*\*'; 'I dropped one yesterday, and of course it... *broke*'; 'So I had to tell my wife that I had ... *broken*\* it', *Questionnaire*, Question No. IX.3.5. None of those connected with the Survey are therefore likely to agree with Dr Sassen's remark (*loc. cit.* p. 127) that 'syntactical features are in general not easily elicited by question'. Indeed, rather than providing difficulty, or even awkwardness, the grammatical questions are in fact some of the most successful elements in the Questionnaire, and more often than not, they give informants considerable entertainment.

And so ends Day Two and the fieldworker retires to bed wearied by the hard work, but at the same time well satisfied at having found his feet in yet another locality.

During Day Three and Four the fieldworker more or less follows the same routine. In the mornings he does his administration, writes up his observations on the general condition of the dialect and its speech sounds, checks his recordings and the appropriateness of his transcription, considers the progress of his investigations and decides what speakers to use for particular books, adjusts his plans for the rest of the visit, and goes out to take photographs of his informants and of objects and implements relating to the *Questionnaire*. The afternoons and evenings he wholly devotes to recording his informants and concentrates intensively on this arduous task. And by the end of Day Four, he will have decided which informant, or informants, to invite to speak into his tape-recording apparatus and what unscripted material, e.g. conversations and their subjects, anecdotes, descriptions of procedures like baking and pig-killing, actually to record. On Days Five and Six, the fieldworker finishes off his recordings and his note-making, makes his farewells to all his helpers and may leave small presents of tobacco, cigarettes, snuff or other suitable gifts for his

informants. Leave-taking has its emotional aspects, for, although the fieldworker's visit may have lasted no longer than the inside of a week, within that short period he will have established friendly relationships with all his speakers and will have learnt to sympathise with not a few of their interests and personal problems. As for the informants themselves, they will have almost overnight come to realise that their own local form of speech, something they for years may have been privately accustomed to look down upon, and even to disparage openly, had not only long tradition behind it, but also had an absorbing interest and value to people far beyond the circle of their own acquaintances. Expressions of genuine regret at the fieldworker's departure are always forthcoming and good wishes for the speedy success of the Survey are conveyed with warmth and sincerity. The inquiry is now at an end, and the fieldworker can pack his things and move off to the next place in the network, ready to use the *Questionnaire* all over again.

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Under the conditions under which they are being written, the above observations cannot, before publication, be referred to my distinguished friend and collaborator who is being celebrated in this Number, and they inevitably suffer through lack of his kindly advice and penetrating criticism.

Leeds.

HAROLD ORTON.

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## Anglicisms in the Catalan Language of Menorca

1. It is well-known that the English occupied the island of Menorca, although with several interruptions, from 1708-1802. During this time contact between the English officials and the inhabitants of the island was friendly and therefore rather close and resulted in the adoption of many anglicisms in the language spoken in Menorca, conveniently adapted to the phonetics of Catalan and with very curious semantic developments, especially in specialized language (professional language, children's games, etc.). Besides in rapid reference in the general philological works on Catalan<sup>1</sup>, the Catalan anglicisms have been treated more monographically by A. Ruiz y Pablo<sup>2</sup>, Bartolomé Escudero<sup>3</sup>, F. de B. Moll<sup>4</sup>, and H. Guiter<sup>5</sup>.

The distribution of the anglicisms is not uniform in the whole island; they are to be found more frequently in the district of Mahon, which was the residence of the English governor and the centre of naval activity, whereas in the interior of the island and in Ciutadella they are less abundant although very general<sup>6</sup>.

We do not intend to give here an extensive study, we only want to indicate, besides some generalities (no. 2), the principal phonetic characteristics of these borrowed words (nos. 3-4) and the semantic developments which are most important (nos. 5-8).

2. The Menorcans gave to the English the generic name of *jan*, *jans* < JOHN<sup>7</sup>, which is still preserved in several locutions and phrases. Also proper names of persons resembling the English form which corresponds to them, are frequent: *Piter* < PETER, *Jims* < JAMES, *Toni* < TONY (from ANTHONY), *Feni* < FANNY (from FRANCES), *Jo* < JOE, (from JOSEPH), *Jeri* < JERRY (from JEREMY), *Joni* < JOHNNY (from JOHN), *Elaisa* < ELIZA, etc. Even the name of the English governor, General Kane, who

<sup>1</sup> See among the most recent A. Badia Margarit, *Gramàtica històrica catalana*, Barcelona, 1951, section 15, p. 49; F. de B. Moll, *Gramàtica històrica catalana*, Madrid, 1952, section 25, p. 55, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Angel Ruiz Pablo, 'Rastre que varen deixar en el llenguatge menorquí les dominacions ingleses', Primer Congrés Internacional de la llengua catalana, Barcelona, 1908, p. 345-348.

<sup>3</sup> B. Escudero, 'Lista de ... las palabras que usamos en Menorca tomadas del Inglés ...', *Revista de Menorca*, X, 1915, p. 169-174, 222-223, 257-259.

<sup>4</sup> F. de B. Moll, 'Estudi fonètic y lexical del dialecte de Ciutadella, Miscelànea ... dedicada a D. Antonio Ma. Alcover, Palma de Mallorca, 1932, p. 419-420. — I take advantage of this bibliographical reference to thank Mr. F. de B. Moll for the help he gave me in the composition of this note.

<sup>5</sup> Henri Guiter, *Etude de linguistique historique du dialecte minorquin*, Montpellier, 1943, p. 129-134.

<sup>6</sup> F. de B. Moll, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>7</sup> We give the anglicisms of Menorca in italics, and the English words from which they are derived in small capital letters. The examples given have been taken indiscriminately from the works of A. Ruiz y Pablo, B. Escudero, F. de B. Moll, and H. Guiter, quoted in the notes 2, 3, 4 and 5, respectively.



was very popular, is preserved in that of a kind of apples called *pomes d'En Quen*. It is said that from Kane is derived also the name of a kind of plums: when he was asked what these plums were called in England, he replied: 'I never saw', and from that time the plums are called *prunes de neverso*. In respect to gastronomy many words in Menorca are derived from English: *pepelmén* < PEPPERMINT, *pudin* < PUDDING, *coc* 'bun for breakfast' < CAKE, *pinxa* < PILCHARD, *grevi* < GRAVY, *xenc* 'cowsfoot' < SHANK, etc.; also the beverages: *gin* < GIN, *pungs* < PUNCH, *groc* < GROG, *sengri* 'wine sweetened with sugar and spices' < SANGAREE, *biter* 'a bitter beverage' < BITTER, etc.

3. The phonetic character of the anglicisms of Menorca is immediately to be seen in their oral naturalness; they imitate the original pronunciation and are not graphic like other modern anglicisms in the Catalan language. I quote the following examples: *xoc* < CHALK, *faitim* < FIGHT, *saidbord* < SIDE BOARD, *tibord* < TEA BOARD, *ueit* < WHITE, *esquics* < SQUEAK, *maiter* < MITRE, *bifi* < BEEF, *mèrvels* < MARBLES, etc.

4. The phonetic treatment of the anglicisms has followed fixed norms. Some of them are the following: a) English a is generally given as e: SHOEMAKER < *xumèquer*, SHANK > *xènc*, GRAVY > *grevi*, SANGAREE > *sèngri*, CAN > *quèñ*, etc.; b) before initial s plus stop there is an e: SCREW *escrús*, STICK > *estic*, STROP > *estrop*, etc.; c) because of articulatory necessity there sometimes appears an epenthetic vowel: TURNSCREW > *tornescrús*, but in other cases the derived word has caused the syncope of an atonic interior vowel: SANGAREE > *sèngri*; d) exchanges and dissimilations between liquids are frequent (especially l and r): PEPPERMINT > *pepelmén*, TAPER > *tèpel*, and dissimilation may even eliminate l: BLACK BALL > *bèp bol*; this last case is also a good example of the assimilation of consonants (velar ck > labial p, because of the following b); e) a tendency to simplify the articulation is to be seen, especially in complex groups in Catalan (BOW-WINDOW > *bòinder*), and in articulations which the Catalan language does not possess, such as aspirated h: BARRACK HOUSE > *bèrious*, SHAKE HANDS > *xaquèns* (although in this last case the aspiration may be considered to be absorbed by the velar which comes before); f) finally we see a phonetic simplification caused by popular etymology: MIDSHIPMAN > *mitjamèn* (reminding of the Catalan *mitja*, Latin MEDIA, which has decided the phonetic problem of its adaptation).

5. From the semantic point of view, several of the anglicisms of Menorca have been obtained by the simple transfer of their sense so that there has not taken place a semantic modification; thus the following words mean the same as in English: *bòinder* (< BOW-WINDOW), *bòtil* (< BOTTLE), *bèp bol* (< BLACK BALL), *xaquèns* (< SHAKEHANDS), *mitjamèn* (< MIDSHIPMAN), *mèrvels* (< MARBLES), etc. The semantic process of generalization we see in SHOEMAKER which as *xumequer* signifies a person not very efficient in his trade, especially used of carpenters, smiths and masons. We can probably see a generalization, or at least a transfer of the sense of ox (< ox); this word does not any more signify an ox,

but is the exclamation which drives the oxen when working. That it does not mean 'ox' any more is seen by the word *ox bou* (compare *arri mula*), where we have the cry for animating the beast and the Latin generic name of the animal. But, as is customary when borrowing from a foreign language, the most frequent semantic process is the specialization or restriction of the sense, with which we shall occupy ourselves in general (No. 6), in the language of certain trades (No. 7), and in the terminology of children's games (No. 8).

6. In general we see restriction of the sense in the following instances: MAN > *men*, 'very capable person, very intelligent'; BEEF > *bifi*, 'a person of little energy, little influenced by physical pain'; BLACK > *ull blèc*, 'an eye blackened by a blow'; BIG > *bigal*, 'a tall person'; FIGHT > *faitim*, 'blows'; RUBBLE > *rèble*, 'small stones generally proceeding from ruins'; PINCH > *pinxar*, 'to snuff'; SHELL > *xèl*, 'several kinds of shells'; CAP > *quèp*, 'children's cap'; FLOOR > *flor*, 'wainscoted room' (i.e. what in English is expressed by *BOARDED FLOOR*); RAIL > *rèl*, 'pieces of wood under the seat of a chair in order to make it more solid'; BACK > *bèc*, 'upper cross-piece at the back of a chair'; WHITE > *ueit*, 'Spanish white'; SHANK > *xènc*, 'meat of a cowsfoot'; BITTER > *biter*, 'bitter drink'.

7. In manual trades we find examples of restriction of the sense; in general GANG > *guènc*, has changed to signify 'hard work, material or moral'. In the language of masons we find CAN > *quèn*, 'a small tin for putting water in the clefts of the walls'; RULE > *rul*, 'length of about 27 inches'; in the language of joiners we have besides the word *rul*, already quoted, the following expressions: BIT > *bit*, 'a little tool for making mouldings'; JACK > *jac*, 'a plane smaller than the jack-plane'; SETTING + BOARD > *sutimbor*, 'tool for fixing a board'; STAND + FACE > *estanfès*, 'tool for fixing a board'<sup>8</sup>. With reference to transport by boat we have BARGAIN > *bèrquin*, 'transport of passengers by boat'; and BARGAINER > *berguiner*, 'a person who transports people by boat'.

8. But the most important significative restriction we find in the games of children, who always assimilate more easily foreign linguistic elements<sup>9</sup>. The word *mèrvèls* < (MARBLES) is most important in the play of children. In this game they use with specialized significations at certain moments of the game the words *plis* (< PLEASE) and its contrary *nòquel* (< KNOCKER), *pinc* (< PINK)<sup>10</sup>, *estop* (< STOP) and its contrary *esquics* (< SQUEAK), and the two grammatical particles *eut* (< OUT) and *in* (< IN), which signify exactly that the ball has entered or left the hole made for

<sup>8</sup> The last two derivations are only conjectures, see B. Escudero, *op. cit.*, p. 258-259.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ruiz y Pablo, *op. cit.*, p. 348, relates that he has seen English sailors playing with children in Mahon, and that the children who did not know English understood the sailors quite well playing at marbles (*mèrvèls* < MARBLES).

<sup>10</sup> Although B. Escudero, *op. cit.*, p. 173, says that he does not see any relation between *tirar a pinc*, 'to throw the ball against a line made in the earth in order to see who plays', and the English word PINK, we believe that there is no doubt about *pinc* < PINK, because PINK also means, besides other significations, 'to pick, to transfix, to pierce'.

the game. Also the game pelota is translated by *plè* (< PLAY) and one of its episodes *avavol* (< EVEN ALL). In hide and seek there is used the word *esquics* in order to indicate that all the boys are hidden and that the one who has to seek them can begin; it is derived from QUICK<sup>11</sup>.

In other children's games there occur the words *estec* (< STICK), *quis* (< KISS) and *tèpel* (< TAPER). What proves that assimilation in children's language is stronger than in that of adults, with reference to the anglicisms of Menorca, is the fact that in this island there exist at the same time the two words *xoc* (< English CHALK) and *guix* (< latin GYPSU)<sup>12</sup>: *xoc* indicates the influence of the English schools because it means 'chalk for writing', but *guix* has preserved its general signification.

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## Some Special West African English Words<sup>1</sup>

Isolated parts of a language area tend to develop peculiarities of their own, especially in vocabulary, and West Africa is no exception. Different European languages, English, French, Dutch, Danish and Portuguese, are or have been spoken there, and they all use or have used special West African words. The purpose of this paper is to point to the lexicographical interest of West African English. A number of special West African words are in fact shared by several European languages but none of the standard dictionaries of these languages devote much attention to West Africa. English is probably better served in this respect than any other language, but even the Oxford Dictionary has many omissions, and the words that it does record are not always satisfactorily treated. A cursory reading of a series of early accounts of travels in West Africa<sup>2</sup> has convinced me that there is a great deal of material to be collected here, and I shall give examples below of the sort of discoveries that one can make in these early travel-books. But first I must say a few words about West African English in general.

<sup>11</sup> According to A. Ruiz Pablo, *op. cit.*, p. 347; or from SQUEAK = cry, acc. to B. Escudero, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>12</sup> F. de B. Moll, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to Dr. K. O. Dike, of University College, Ibadan, and to Professor H. Sten, of the University of Copenhagen, for advice on various points in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The works to which I shall have occasion to refer below are:

Atkins (J.), *A Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies*. London, 1735.

Baikie (W. B.), *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue*. London, 1856.

Behrens (C.), *Da Guinea var Dansk*. Copenhagen, 1917.

Bosman (W.), *Nauwkeurige Beschryving van de Guinese Goud-, Tand- en Slave-Kust*. Utrecht, 1704.



There are several distinct kinds, or layers, of English spoken in the British territories on the west coast of Africa. There is a kind of Pidgin, used chiefly in intercourse between Europeans and illiterate Africans, and sometimes among the Africans themselves if they belong to different tribes. Pidgin is a language consisting mostly of English words, but with a grammatical structure all its own. Secondly there is educated African English. This is characterized by an accent which is very different from any other English accent, owing to influence from African languages, and by occasional though fairly systematic deviations from Standard English in vocabulary and phraseology. Finally there is the English spoken by those Europeans on the west coast who have English as their mother tongue. Since they have learnt their English in different parts of the English-speaking world, they do not share a common accent; but new-comers gradually adopt certain words and uses of words which are peculiar to West Africa, and which are handed down traditionally from generation to generation of 'old coasters'. It is with these peculiarities of 'old coasters' English (let us call it Coast English) that this paper will be concerned.

To talk of only three kinds of English in West Africa to-day is perhaps to simplify matters unduly; the three kinds shade into one another. Moreover, there are minor variations between the different territories, and the so-called Patois or Creole spoken by some Sierra Leonians is in a class by itself, though akin to Pidgin. My remarks in this paper are based on observations made in Nigeria and relate, as I said, to the English used by Europeans among themselves. Educated African English is in intention Standard English, and is in fact an approximation to it. Pidgin English is boldly independent; but despite its independence it shares some of its peculiarities in vocabulary with Coast English.

What are these peculiarities of Coast English? They are fewer now than in former centuries. Many of the special words used by early travellers and traders have been replaced by the corresponding standard

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Burton (R. F.), *Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains*, vol. II. London, 1863.

Churchill (A. & J.), *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London, 1732.

Duncan (J.), *Travels in Western Africa in 1845 & 1846*, vol. I. London, 1847.

Hakluyt (R.), *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, etc.*, vol. II. London, 1599.

Houstoun (J.), *Some New and Accurate Observations on the Coast of Guinea*. London, 1725.

Labat (J. B.), *Voyage du Chevalier Des Marchais en Guinée, etc.*, vol. II. Paris, 1730.

Monrad (H. C.), *Bidrag til en Skildring af Guinea-Kysten*. Copenhagen, 1822.

Moore (F.), *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa*. London, n.d. 1740?).

Müller (W. J.), *Die Africanische auf der Guineischen Gold-Cust gelegene Landschaft Fetu*. Hamburg, 1676.

Owen (W. F. W.), *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, etc.*, vol. II. London, 1833.

Purchas (S.), *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II. London, 1625.

Römer (L. F.), *Tilforladelig Efterretning om Kysten Guinea*. Copenhagen, 1760.

Smith (W.), *A New Voyage to Guinea*. London, 1744.

Villaut de Bellefond, *Relation des Costes d'Afrique, appelées Guinée*. Paris, 1669.



terms; thus *assagai* has become 'spear', *caboceer* has become 'chief' or 'headman', and *pitto* is often just 'native beer' (or some similar phrase). The reality covered by *panyar* 'to seize' or 'kidnap' has largely vanished, and the word is no longer used. The word *fetish*, with the phrases *to make fetish* and *fetish-men* or *fetisheer*, is seldom heard nowadays in West Africa, its original home. Since its appropriation by anthropologists for more general use, the word has been largely replaced in British West Africa (but not, I believe, in the French territories) by the phrase *ju-ju*, about which I shall have more to say presently. The following are some of the words and phrases still commonly used in Coast English, but not generally known in Standard English, or not known in the particular West African sense: *chop*, *Dane gun*, *dash*, *ju-ju*, *palaver* and *watchnight*. To these one might add such words as *calabash*, *pawpaw* and *pickin*, which are shared by several regions within the English-speaking world.

Before I comment on some of these words I should like briefly to sketch in the historical background. The first European nation to build permanent establishments, in the form of forts and trading-stations, on the Guinea coast were the Portuguese. For about a hundred years, i.e. roughly from 1475 to 1575, they enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the trade to West Africa. During this period many of the negroes learnt Portuguese, of a sort, and it seems that they came to regard this as the language of the white man of whatever country. The result was that when other nations, notably the Dutch and the English, shortly before 1600 began to challenge the supremacy of the Portuguese in this part of the world, they had to teach themselves Portuguese for the purpose of communicating with the Africans. For a long time the medium of communication between Europeans and Africans remained Portuguese; and even after the negroes living near the trading-stations of other nations, Dutch, English, or Danish, had learnt a little of the languages of these nations, a large number of Portuguese words survived in their speech and were adopted by the Europeans also. The interesting thing is that early travellers sometimes naïvely assumed that the names for various objects quoted to them by the Africans were those of the local African language and not, as so often happened, the equivalent Portuguese words in a corrupt form. Thus in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (p. 941) we find: 'They also haue a Priest, who in their speech they call a *Fetissero*.' Francis Moore (p. 85) includes *mercador* in a list of Mandingo words and gives 'factor' as its English equivalent. Many similar mistakes could be quoted.

When I talk of the Portuguese used in West Africa in former centuries, I mean so-called Negro-Portuguese, a kind of Pidgin Portuguese. This is not the place to discuss the characteristics of this *lingua franca*, as it was sometimes called, but it is important to realize that it was a 'bastard' language, as Moore says (p. 27), 'scarce understood in Lisbon'. It showed certain archaic or Spanish features<sup>3</sup>. It is also important to realize that

<sup>3</sup> As in the following phrase, which according to Müller (p. 193) was used by a negro when warning him not to open a fetish-basket: 'O Senor, no abrid; pretto diabol sta adentro,' i.e. O, Sir, do not open it; there is a black devil inside.

it was used in intercourse between Englishmen and Africans from the earliest times until well into the eighteenth century<sup>4</sup>.

Portuguese influence on African speech may have been strengthened in later times through Brazil. In the second half of the nineteenth century freed slaves returned in large numbers from Brazil. Their influence is noticeable in southern Nigerian architecture, which sometimes looks strikingly Portuguese. There are many Portuguese surnames in Nigeria, and to this day there are negroes in West Africa who can speak a little Portuguese, learnt either in Brazil or from parents who had learnt it there. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether this Brazilian influence has affected the English spoken on the Guinea coast. The Portuguese words that one finds in Coast English to-day are centuries old, and no new ones have been adopted in recent times.

By the end of the nineteenth century, of the European nations which had had possessions on the Guinea coast only the British remained, and the other nations' languages died out with their departure. In the meantime the French had acquired a small foothold in the colony of Dahomey; up till then their interests had been chiefly confined to the Senegal and later also to equatorial Africa, but not to the Guinea coast proper.

Such then is the background against which we must view the problem of Coast English. Speakers of Coast English come from all parts of the English-speaking world, but on their arrival in West Africa they step into a tradition with its roots deep in West African history. And yet that tradition is not so strong now as it was; a great many words of Portuguese origin have died out. Let us look a little more closely at some of these words.

Officers of state in the West African kingdoms of former times were often given Portuguese titles. Among those that occur in English writings are: *caboceer* 'headman', *fidalgo* 'governor', *mercador* 'Government-appointed trade agent' and *viador* 'overseer'. These have all been recorded in the O.E.D., though *mercador* is stated to be a rare word of Spanish origin, and no West African examples are quoted. A title which is not recorded in the O.E.D. is *braffo* (used, e.g., by Smith, p. 219, and Barbot, Churchill's Collection, vol. V, p. 290), which is from Portuguese *bravo* 'brave'. In West Africa it meant 'standard-bearer' or 'general'.

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<sup>4</sup> Thus, about the visit of one Nicholas Lambert and other merchants to the king of Benin in 1553 we read: 'And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first vnderstand that he himselfe could speake the *Portugall* tongue, which he had learned of a child [= as a child]' (Hakluyt, p. 12). John Barbot, a Frenchman who was on the coast in the 1670's and 1680's, makes it clear (Churchill, vol. V, p. 360) that the Europeans, and he specially mentions the English and the Dutch, used Portuguese in their trade with the people of Benin. On the Gambia, says Moore (p. 27) in the eighteenth century, next to the local language the commonest medium was Negro-Portuguese. In the course of the eighteenth century Pidgin English seems to have become the common medium between Englishmen and negroes, and in the nineteenth century it supplanted Negro-Portuguese as the *lingua franca* on the coast.

Two other Portuguese words which are no longer in common use in British West Africa are *fetish* and *panyar*. They are both satisfactorily dealt with in the O.E.D. Among Portuguese words one might also list *assagai*, which despite its Arabic origin came into English from the Portuguese in Africa. Under the word *custom* the O.E.D. records a special West African use, namely, to signify the periodical massacres in the former kingdom of Dahomey. This definition is too narrow; the word meant 'holiday' or 'festival'. Thus, Duncan (p. 31) writes: 'The yam custom, or holiday, is another annual ceremony.' Since this special meaning of the word is found also in Coast Danish, there is reason to think that it goes back to Negro-Portuguese.

A rather surprising omission in the O.E.D. is the term for a type of small shell which for centuries was used in West Africa as currency and especially as small change<sup>5</sup>. Nowadays these shells are referred to as *cowries*, an Indian word, but in former times they were known by the Portuguese word *buzio* (< Latin *bucina*). All the other European languages spoken on the coast adopted this Portuguese word, and each shaped it differently according to its sound system, but no dictionary known to me has recorded any of these borrowings. In English a variety of forms were used (e.g. by Atkins, Houstoun, Barbot and Phillips; the latter two in Churchill's Collection, vols. V & VI); the word appeared most often as *booge*, a form probably influenced by Coast French *bouge*<sup>6</sup> (used, e.g., by Labat, p. 40); other forms were *buji* and *bousie*. From about 1700 the word *cowrie* began to take the place of *booge*.

Let us now turn to some of the special words which are still used in West Africa to-day. One of them, *palaver*, is clearly of Portuguese origin. From West Africa the word was brought to England by travellers, and it is now part of Standard English in the sense of 'talk' or 'parley'. But in West Africa this meaning is obsolete. In Pidgin and very largely in Coast English the word has come to mean 'business' or 'trouble' (e.g. 'That's your palaver,' 'That has caused a lot of palaver' and 'He had some tummy palaver last week'). From the original meaning 'talk' the word had already in the eighteenth century come to mean 'dispute' or 'law-suit' (see Moore, p. 221, and Smith, p. 32), occasions on which there is invariably in West Africa a great deal of loud talk. It seems that the further extension to mean 'fuss' and 'trouble' took place in the nineteenth century; the frequent use of the word in Pidgin was probably instrumental.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, James Welsh after his visit to Benin in 1588 reported: 'Their money is pretie white shels, for golde and siluer we saw none' (Hakluyt, p. 129). And Leo Africanus, in John Pory's translation, says: 'The Coine of *Tombuto* is of Gold without any stampe or superscription: but in matters of small value they vse certaine shels brought hither out of the Kingdome of *Persia*, foure hundred of which shels are woorth a Duckat' (*Pvrchas His Pilgrimes*, p. 828).

<sup>6</sup> The Portuguese retracted [s] and [z] were heard by Frenchmen, with their dental s-sounds, as [ʃ] and [ʒ]. Hence *feitiço* became *fétiche*, and *buzio* became *bouge*. The English forms of these words in their later stages were influenced by French.



Another word which really belongs to Pidgin and which has hardly as yet become acclimatized in Coast English is *watchnight* in the sense of 'night-watchman'. It appeals to the ordinary English-speaker by its quaintness and simplicity.

I come now to three problem words, *chop*, *dash* and *ju-ju*, and I shall deal with them one by one. They belong to both Pidgin and Coast English.

*Chop* is both a noun 'food' (e.g. 'They live on native chop,' 'I gave him some money to buy chop with' and 'Chop is ready,' i.e. dinner is served) and a verb (e.g. 'The white ants have chopped it'); but the verb is more common in Pidgin than in Coast English. The O.E.D. Supplement records the noun from 1870 and the verb from 1896; but the noun is found in Burton (p. 145) and the verb in Owen (p. 327). Weekley suggests that the word may either be from the obsolete verb *chop* 'to devour' or may have been suggested by *chopsticks*. The former is the more likely suggestion. We may have a corroboration of this etymology in the occurrence of a word *chap-chap* 'to eat' in a list of words of the 'Old Calabar' language given by Barbot (Churchill, vol. V, p. 383), whose last visit to West Africa was in 1682. The language spoken in Old Calabar at the present day is Efik, but *chap-chap* is not an Efik word. What language is it then? English influence on the language of West Africans at that early date would be something very unusual, but I have no better explanation to offer than to suggest that *chap-chap* is the obsolete English verb *chap* or *chop* 'to take into the chops and eat' with the usual African reduplication for emphasis.

*Dash* is one of the first words that a European learns on his arrival in West Africa. Pidgin phrases like 'Massa give me dash' and 'Massa no dash me enough' illustrate its meaning and use. It means 'tip' or 'present', and it is both a noun and a verb. It is extremely common both in Pidgin and in Coast English. How far back does it go, and what is its origin? The earliest example quoted in the O.E.D. is from 1788, but a theory is propounded there that the word is a corruption of *dashee*, a hypothetical Negro word, through taking the plural *dashees* as *dashes*. The authority for the form *dashee* is Atkins (pp. 60, 64, 100, 102 *et al.*), who calls it a 'Negrish' word; but Atkins was a surgeon and not a philologist, and his pronouncements on language should be taken with a pinch of salt. His list of 'Negrish' words (p. 60) is in fact open to doubt; it contains a word *cockracoo* meaning 'fowl' or 'chicken', which can be no other than Portuguese *cocoroco* 'cock-a-doodle-do'. The same word for 'fowl' or 'chicken' is included by Barbot in his Old Calabar vocabulary, and it is used by Thomas Phillips (Churchill, vol. VI, p. 191). It was obviously a common Negro-Portuguese word used all along the Guinea coast. Even the ending *-ee* is not above suspicion, since Atkins uses it regularly in his attempts to render Pidgin English: 'after Death the honest goodee Man go to Godee, livee very well, have a goodee Wife, goodee Victuals, &c.' (p. 105).

Having now thrown suspicion on the O.E.D.'s theory, can we suggest



anything better? First of all it should be realized that the word is older than the eighteenth century, and that it occurs also in Coast French, Dutch and Danish. Barbot (Churchill, vol. V, p. 416) quotes a Gold Coast phrase *mame-dasche* 'give me something', and Villaut de Bellefond (p. 322) talks of the negro habit of clamouring for 'quelque présent (qu'ils appellent *Daché*).' In an account translated from a Dutch original, which is apparently no longer extant, and included in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, a noun *Dache* meaning 'present' is used (pp. 937-38), and the same noun, spelt *Dasje*, occurs in a later Dutch writer, Bosman (Part II, p. 274). In Coast Danish a verb *dadse* (covering a pronunciation [dasə]) was used in the nineteenth century (Monrad, p. 215, and Behrens, pp. 86 & 89-90).

Can we on the basis of these further occurrences propose a more probable etymology? The wide use of the word in different European languages on the coast speaks in favour of a Portuguese origin, since the common element in the various 'coast' forms of European languages is mostly Portuguese. But there is no obvious Portuguese word that one can think of in this connexion; the verb *deixar* 'to bequeathe' or 'leave behind' is a possibility, but no more. A particular use of West African *dash(ee)* may, however, afford a clue; the word is often in practice synonymous with 'enforced tribute', 'fee' or 'commission'. Thus, Atkins (p. 64) writes: 'there is a *Dashee* expected before Ships can wood or water here;' and (p. 198): 'each [tribe] has a Captain or Leader, who always craves or claims some *Dashee*, before you strike a Bargain with any of the other *Negroes*.' The same meaning is clearly implied by Villaut de Bellefond and some of the other authors who have used the word. Now there exists in some Romance languages a word meaning 'toll' or 'tribute' with a form not very different from West African *dash*. There was at one time a French word *dace* or *dache* (see von Wartburg's etymological dictionary); Italian has *dazio* and Spanish *dacio*, and medieval Latin (according to Du Cange) had *data*, *datio*, *datia* and *datium* all meaning 'tribute'. The word has not been recorded in Portuguese, but that does not mean that it never existed; moreover, Negro-Portuguese had some Spanish admixture. As regards the ending, the word may have existed in two parallel forms, corresponding to the vacillation between *booge* and *bui*.

*Ju-ju*, the word that has now replaced *fetish*, is recorded in the O.E.D. from 1894; but it is much older, and the O.E.D.'s etymology, from French *joujou* 'toy' or 'plaything', is almost certainly wrong. Baikie, after his expedition up the river Niger in 1854, described a palaver with some Africans, which began by 'drinking a glass of wine . . a few drops of which they, before tasting it, poured on the deck as *dju-dju*, or sacred' (p. 42). This custom is centuries old. In the previously mentioned Dutch account included in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* a drinking ceremony on the Gold Coast in about the year 1600 is described as follows: 'at the first draught, they drinke not the Cabas full out, but leaue a little in it, which they throw vpon the ground, saying *Iou*, as giving their *Fetisso* that to drinke'

(p. 936)<sup>7</sup>. It is no doubt also our word that James Barbot, John Barbot's brother, heard in 1699, when he visited the king of Dony, east of Calabar in the present-day Camaroons. He says (Churchill, vol. V, p. 462): 'I lay that night in the king's house, near his idol-house, which they call *Jou-Jou*.' It is worth noting that, although this account was first published in English, the author was a Frenchman. Nevertheless, Barbot does not seem to have recognized *jou-jou* as a French word, and it is clear that he and the king spoke Portuguese together, for Barbot says (ib.): 'The king ... is a very good-natur'd civil man, speaks *Portuguese*, and seems to have been instructed by *Romish* priests ... from *St. Tome* and *Brazil*.' In view of the wide geographical distribution along the coast of Guinea, the word is more likely to be Portuguese than African. The best explanation I can offer is that it is a corruption of Portuguese *Deus* 'God', in its later forms with reduplication.

Finally I should like to comment on a phrase composed of ordinary English words, but with a special meaning in West Africa, namely, the term *Dane gun*. This term is sometimes used even outside West Africa when referring to events and conditions on the coast. Thus a *Times* leader of 19 May 1953 on the recent disturbances in Kano reported that 'the rioters have been using Dane guns'. To my knowledge, the only dictionary that records the phrase is the O.E.D. Supplement, which defines its meaning as 'a gun used in the Guinea Coast area of West Africa' and gives three quotations, the earliest from the year 1900. In 1847, however, Duncan (p. 240) referred to 'the long Danish musket'; but the term is still older, as is the gun itself.

That the Dane gun as a type of gun is of considerable antiquity is clear from its antiquated appearance. It is a long-barrelled, smoothbore, muzzle-loading flint-lock gun, rather like an old-fashioned military musket. But although the type as such is old, most of the representatives that one comes across nowadays are of quite recent origin. In fact the life of each individual gun is probably quite short, judging by the number of accidents that occur every year from exploding Dane guns.

Despite the name these guns are produced locally. Throughout the West African territories Dane guns are manufactured to this day by village blacksmiths. And they are obviously made in large quantities, for they are extremely common. Wherever the African peasant and hunter has abandoned the bow and arrow, he has taken to the Dane gun instead. The interesting thing is that the African nowadays looks upon the Dane gun as an indigenous weapon. To his mind, the Dane gun is *his* gun as distinct from guns imported from Europe. He does not of course call it a 'Dane gun', which is a term used by the Europeans on the coast. The various African languages have different names for this gun, but they all seem to mean or imply 'a native gun'. How does it come about that this

<sup>7</sup> Purchas prints the word as I. OV, but that is undoubtedly a mistake. The German translation included in De Bry, *Orientalische Indien*, Part VI (Frankfurt, 1603) has: 'das schüttet er auss auff die Erden vnd saget: *Iou*' (p. 26).

gun of African manufacture is known to the English on the coast as a 'Dane gun'?

The Danes had trade relations with the west coast of Africa for several centuries. They also at one time had possessions on the coast, the last of which were sold to Britain in 1850. It is natural, therefore, to seek the origin of the term *Dane gun* in some article of trade which the Danes in former times sold to the Africans. This theory is confirmed by a search through various accounts written by early Danish travellers.

The fullest information is given by Römer, who was on the coast between 1739 and 1749. Talking of events in the 1730's he says (pp. 164-65): 'Our Danish flint-lock guns were highly prized by the Akim, and they would pay 32 rix dollars or 2 ounces of gold for 7 pieces, although they could get 10 Dutch or 12 English guns for the same money. Our gun-barrels had all been proved with a double charge and could be trusted not to burst, whereas of the Dutch and English flint-locks almost half would burst in pieces, and the buyer would thus suffer injury not only in respect of his gun; but he who fired the gun usually became so injured that they sometimes had to amputate his hand.' A little further on (p. 171) we read that 'the clever Dutchmen on the coast tried to cut us out by telling many tales to the Akim which were not to our advantage, and in particular this, that there was a fetish on our flint-locks, so that those who used them against their enemies would lose.' Finally we are told (p. 213) that after an inter-tribal battle in 1742 'the surviving Akim put the blame for their defeat on our Danish flint-lock guns; they began to think that the Dutch had not lied when they told their forefathers that there was a fetish on them. We on the coast hastened to inform the Directorate [in Copenhagen] that our flint-locks had gone out of fashion in that part of the country, advising them to alter the guns a little, and above all to make them  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hands higher [*sic*; longer?], which restored the situation, and henceforth our flint-locks were just as salable as before.'

It is clear from the above quotations that there was a brisk trade on the west coast in guns of Danish manufacture — or pretending to be of Danish manufacture, for according to Römer (pp. 213-14) the British imitated the Danish guns and sold their imitations as 'Danish guns'. Even the French ordered such guns from England for re-sale on the coast.

It was not the British and French alone who resorted to doubtful practices. Some Danish supplier cheated and imported guns from Zelle in Hanover for re-exportation to the coast as Danish guns. And so, says Römer (p. 214), 'we Danes got a bad reputation over the so-called Danish guns.' It is worth noting that Römer says 'the so-called Danish guns'. It seems that already in his day the term *Danish gun* was beginning to mean a particular type of gun not necessarily made by the Danes.

The same impression emerges still more clearly from the account of a later writer, H. C. Monrad, who was on the coast from 1805 to 1809. He says (pp. 284-85): 'The commonest things which are traded with the negroes are: guns (among which the so-called *Danish* ones, which are



manufactured near Hamburg and which the British have imitated so cleverly and sell as "Danish guns", are the most easily salable)... Evidently by Monrad's time the association between Danes and 'Dane guns' had become rather loose. The guns were in fact no longer made in Denmark.

A search through Danish archives would doubtless reveal further details, but would scarcely alter the general picture. The only link that is now missing is the transition from the importation of Dane guns, of whatever origin, into West Africa to the local manufacture of these guns and the cessation of the import. On this point I have no documentary evidence, though no doubt it could be found. But that would be a task for the economic historian rather than the philologist.

Ibadan, Nigeria.

PAUL CHRISTOPHERSEN.

## Reviews

### Unpublished London Dissertations on Medieval English

The following selection of short reviews is offered as a tribute to the work done at the University of London, since 1937, in ME Language and Literature, the only portion of English philology that the present writer felt confident to survey. Not considered for the selection were numerous critical editions of OE and ME texts and some remarkable studies in *Piers Plowman* criticism, which would merit the attention of specialists. What remains after this elimination may be considered as representative of the kind and range of studies undertaken, and may throw some light on the desirability or otherwise of the continental habit of compulsory publication. I am indebted to London University College and the Senate House Library for access to the typescripts and for general assistance.

A. C. CAWLEY, *A Study of the Language of the Various Texts of Trevisa's Translation of Higden's Polychronicon*. M.A., University College, 1938, 260 pp.

This well-planned work consists of two independent studies. Part I examines and collates lexical material in the Latin original, in seven MS versions, and in Caxton's printed book. (In a preliminary section the relation of MSS is very competently worked out.) The material is sifted carefully with a view to ascertaining which verbal changes are attributable to Caxton and to discussing his reasons for making them. Highly valuable tables are drawn up in Chapter III, where the archaic words are classified according to their being in Caxton replaced by modern ones, misunderstood



and wrongly modernized, omitted, combined with current synonyms, or intentionally preserved. The author is very cautious in assigning causes for most of the changes. The argument of homophone conflict is thrown in with what appears, in the light of E. R. Williams' more recent work (*The Conflict of Homonyms in English*, Yale Studies, 1944), as a very insufficient grasp of the problem. In his Conclusion, rather than evaluating the material himself, the author is contented with suggestions for 'further lines of enquiry'. Nevertheless, the compiled evidence for clearly intended verbal changes — often improving on that of NED — constitutes a highly rewarding source for diachronic semantics and the history of Standard English. — Part II, a study of the punctuation in Cotton MS Tiberius D vii, Harley MS 1900, Additional MS 24194, and in Caxton's printed *Polycronycon*, is accessible in print as an article on 'Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa', *London Mediæval Studies*, Vol. I, Part I, 1937.

A. B. LEWIS, *Descriptions of the Devil and his Works in Early English Literature and the Relation of these Ideas to Doctrine*. Ph. D., University College, 1939, 446 pp.

With the bulk of homiletic writing from Cynewulf to Richard Rolle at her disposal, the student, in this particular quest, was bound to find a veritable gold mine in what is in many respects so barren as literature. The study then, first and foremost, is a full inventory of medieval devil-lore, progressing not unlike *Paradise Lost* from the Fall of Lucifer and the first men, the devil's homes Hell and Purgatory, his looks, appearance, and duties among men, to his second condemnation, men's possible escape from him, and the final condemnation of Evil. The review starts with the OE poems, which as far as the devil is concerned are seen to be well grounded in the Latin writings of the Fathers, the *Vitæ Patrum*, and Church doctrine, the latter being always traceable to Scripture and keeping the imagination from straying into unorthodoxy. The earliest English devil of any sort is said to be Grendel, after whom we first find in creatures called *zæst* in *Christ & Satan* and *Juliana* the true medieval devil. There are two clearly discernible strands of the traditional view: the earlier one of the traitor-angel who has not lost all his original brightness (witness the OE Falls of Lucifer), then, by the twelfth century, the spirit of the monasteries viewed as a beast. This monastic devil — the term used throughout — is by far the most important in Early English literature. The two most singular results of the investigation are, in fact, the monasticity and the seriousness of all these devils. Revelation of devils came, primarily, only to monks — who knew the theory! — and many more devils attacked monks than any other men: this is borne out, since parallels in contemporary visual arts have wisely been included, by the observation that no pictures of devils are found in any parish church of the period. 'What the people heard were stories of the enemy which professional soldiers may tell when they come

back from wars.' Further, none of these stories were in any way meant to be comical; not even getting a devil's nose pinched. But then, did we ever think it funny when hearing, much later, about Luther throwing his ink-horn at the Tempter? Not until we come to the Miracle Plays do we find an intentionally humorous treatment. Most of what we have in ME texts on the theme is monastic theory brought to the people in sermons. Naturally, the theory had to be modified in the process to suit the laymen's taste. Now the study fails to enlarge upon this process, which especially in the central chapter on Descriptions of the Devil might have afforded much scope for applying literary criticism in a narrower sense, treating devil-literature as a genre. Instead, we get an accumulation of detail often amounting to an enumeration of unrelated facts — that bane of scholarship. Generally, the work seems to suffer from an uncertainty of aim or method. There is no Introduction.

★

S. GANGULI, *A Study of Chaucer's Diction and Terms for Womanly Beauty*. Ph. D., University College and King's College, 1940, 529 pp.

This massive compilation must be noted, I am afraid, as an example of largely misdirected erudition. The author may have been right at the time in thinking himself to be almost a pioneer in the special field of beauty terms. There has been published since then at least one modern study I know on the ME *Schönheitsfeld*, a Zurich Dissertation by S. Wyler. On the other hand, he might surely have gained some knowledge of *Bedeutungsfeld* theory, general semantics or linguistic theory, reference to any of which is conspicuously absent. Handicapped as he was in this way, the author has gone to extremes of arduous labour in casting the fearful net of positivism over all Chaucer's works, displaying his hauls in chronological order. The main discussion is grouped into Features, i.e. arm, back, body, breasts, buttocks etc. — reminiscent of Heine's well-known burlesque on a German dissertation on Feet! —, Epithets, i.e. adjectives, similes etc., all traced in detail to sources and parallels, and General Descriptions, i.e. longer passages celebrating beauty in a vague way. Sporadic attempts at summing up a situation do not carry one further than the following (under 'body'), which I quote as typical: 'Chaucer's only contribution to the description of the body that remains after eliminating French and ME usage, is the comparison to the weasel in Miller's Tale. No earlier instance can be traced.' Included in the tiresome catalogue are all references to manly beauty (on which Chaucer is found to make only casual remarks), as well as all epithets of womanly ugliness, which, happily, are few in number. For all its shortcomings in method, the work has the merit of accurate research and contains some shrewd observations. Thus something is perhaps achieved for semantics when we find that beauty epithets can

be divided up into (a) those indicating beauty purely, (b) terms primarily of endearment, (c) epithets indicating virtue. One is quite pleased, too, with the result that womanly beauty in Chaucer is reducible to three basic types: the simple and coy, the gay, the stately and proud.

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G. T. SHEPHERD, *Aspects of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thirteenth Century English Lyric Poetry*. M.A., King's College, 1948, 246 pp.

This literary study considers the interrelation of three contemporary phenomena in 13th century England: a new interest in Love, the rise of vernacular poetry, and a new devotion to the Virgin Mary. These trends combined to produce the few, simple, Marian lyrics that are extant, of which all except one are in Carleton Brown's edition of 13th c. English Lyrics. The introductory chapters are concerned with the worship of Mary in England, with the relation of the lyrics to scholastic theory, and with their obscure, but indubitable, debt to Provençal poetry. The internal, dogmatic evidence given for the rise of this new literary form in English is very scarce, but many surprising ecclesiastical connections between England and France are clearly established. The most important single factor is shown to have been the activity of the Franciscans, who deliberately promoted the devotion to the Virgin by transforming the earlier, secular cult of womanly perfection (Courtly Love) into that of St. Mary. In a comparison of the most popular themes such as the Annunciation, the Virgin Birth of Christ, the *Stabat Mater*, the Assumption, with their prototypes in dogma, the lyrics are said to testify to the accuracy with which doctrine was taught at popular levels. There is a tactful and intelligent discussion of the similarities between Courtly Love and the devotion to the Virgin, with well-chosen illustration for fusions of the profane and the religious element, the latter consisting in the liturgical form of some of the lyrics. The best instance of such fusion is *Edi beo þu, heuene quene*. The lyrics further reflect the same ambiguity of medieval speculations on the nature of love as e.g. the seventh chapter of *Ancren Riwe*, where two distinct traditions are mingled: on one hand the old melancholy view of the *Poema Morale* and the bulk of monitory successors that there is an impassable gulf fixed between worldly and spiritual love, on the other, a belief that all love of whatever kind is good and may lead to the love of Christ, a belief which found full expression in the new lyricism of Marian poetry. Of course, the *Owl and Nightingale* is mentioned as the earliest exposition of this dualism and it might well have been quoted at greater length. Here a very fascinating and I think fairly convincing attempt is made to interpret the Owl as actually speaking for the old monitory lyric, the Nightingale to support the new lyric of love and more specifically the Marian Lyric under consideration. This view, as both birds emphatically profess to sing *chirche-songe*, seems quite plausible and at any rate goes to show that



it is not a contest simply between secular and religious, as has often been assumed. Chapter IV on the Lyric as a Literary Form shows the investigator on exactly the right track, but comes a little late and is not central enough. The mixture of elements originally Latin, Romance, or Germanic, in other than those obvious and delightful macaronic pieces is proficiently assessed, and the metrical complexity of the lyrics is very well illustrated by the example of *On God Ureisun*. Significant novelties of this significant new genre in English were: an artistic self-consciousness, the personal appeal, a simultaneous increase of 'carnality' as well as 'sublimation' in the figure of Mary, in whom men had found a new spring of life and an escape from a scholasticism that had long gone dry. The author must be highly praised for noticing the contemporary parallel of rising social esteem for women at the time of the lyrics, but less so for linking up the new cult with either Magna Charta, or the rising *bourgeois* self-confidence, for which the evidence is rather flimsy. It is a delightful study to read, written in a sincere, appropriate style.

■

G. C. THORNLEY, *Studies in the Versification of the Old-English MS Junius 11, An Investigation into the Use and Function of the Accents and A Consideration of the Poetical Rhythms and Their Relation to Sense and Style*. Ph. D., Exeter College, 1952, 514 pp.

These are two unconnected studies, each remarkable for its novel type of approach. With the first, the author takes a deep plunge into a subject which, for want of intralingual clues, has been left almost unexplored by the philologist. The text is much more heavily accentuated than any other MS of OE poetry and contains *Geneses A and B*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ & Satan*. It is first edited in full from the MS and all the accents are mustered with almost microscopic accuracy. The centre-piece is Chapter II on The Function of the Accents, where every possible aspect of interpretation with behind it a considerable amount of literature is brought to bear on the point. It is made evident that the inconsistency in the use of accents other than those clearly denoting stress can be best understood by their being related to liturgical recitations: some passages fit into the Gregorian scheme of plainsong or chant, which was itself neither rigidly established nor uniform. This liturgical theory can explain, as none other has done, the sporadic nature of accentuation, solitary accents on secondary stresses (no verbal or nominal endings, however, are marked in this MS), and accents on unimportant syllables. All the available evidence is weighed most intelligently in attempts to separate accents with rhetorical from those with metrical functions, in the study of accents on proper names, (where traditional pronunciation rather than metrical consideration was a guide), on compounds (which agree with phrases of shorter words in usuality having the accent on a long vowel, irrespective of metrical stress), on



weak prefixes like *á-* and *ón-* (where the frequent marking seems to ensure clear pronunciation and separation from the preceding word, as: *word ácwæð* not *worda cwæð*, and *lifigend ónlucan*, not *lifigendon lucan*), in alliterative phrases (accents are seen to be related to alliteration only here and there), and in a scrutiny of accents not in agreement with Sievers' metrical system. For further elucidation of the possibilities that 'some accents indicate how the poem should be read' (without intoning), and that 'the rise of a tone above the reciting tone may sometimes have been signified' Lorenz Schmitt's dissertation *Die Akzente in altenglischen Handschriften*, Bonn, 1907, (mainly on the *Læceboc*) and Sievers' article *Zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1938, (on what he calls *Stimmumsprung*) might have been considered. Thornley mentions Schmitt, but not Sievers, and apparently has seen neither. — Following a suggestion by Klaeber in his edition of *Beowulf*, the second, much smaller study goes to establish, among other things, a remarkable connection between sense and metrical rhythm: it comes out clearly in *Exodus* that Sievers' type D4 is being used with preference in descriptions of tumult, affliction, violence, or general 'lack of repose', when in those contexts that type of hemistich occurs several times, being extremely rare otherwise. — These penetrating studies, we feel, could well bear the light of publication and their method of approach might be most profitably adopted elsewhere.

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R. QUIRK, *The Concessive Relation and Its Expression in OE. with Special Reference to the Poetic Material*. Ph.D., University College 1951, 310 pp.

This work is a welcome example of sound syntactical investigation. It was intended to be complementary to the study by Josephine M. Burnham on *Concessive Constructions in OE Prose*, N.Y., 1911, but also takes into account a great portion of OE prose that Miss Burnham had left out. The principles prevailing in previous work on the concessive relation, as well as the author's own method of approach, are discussed in detail. Following a number of scholars, but chiefly Lerch in his *Historische Französische Syntax* an eloquent plea is put forward for proceeding from function to form. Now in presenting the material (2000 examples culled from a wide range of OE writings), which is grouped into concessions with *þeah*, non-dependent concessions without *þeah*, and dependent concessions without *þeah*, this procedure is externally reversed, though internal discussion does run on the lines proposed. Embracing Horn's dictum that the problem in hand *steckt in der Sache, nicht im Wort*, the author performs the feat, amidst a wealth of forms, of keeping one's attention focused on the underlying functional categories. Such fundamental distinctions as between concession ('though'), condition ('as though') and exception ('but'), between cause and concession, and between the concessive and the adversative functions, are indeed never lost sight of. The last distinction, the most difficult of all to be clearly established, has a special bearing on the analysis of

concessive-equivalent constructions and of concessive *ac*, where the general proposition that the only criterion between the two functions is the degree of unexpectedness, is fully confirmed. The inclusion of OE *ac* among concessive conjunctions (in close analogy to NE *but* which, from modern plays, is proved to be much more frequent colloquially than *though*), is itself a very valuable contribution, since both *ac* and *but* have been much neglected. The often decisive part played by the context, the will of the speaker, and the intonation, is made evident in many syntactical distinctions. Another salutary inclusion is that of OE *and*, whose concessive functions — though noted by scholars in MHG *und* — had apparently escaped the notice of Anglicists. A widely accepted misconception is exposed in a very careful analysis, in which contrary to the views of Delbrück and Glunz, the mood of verbs in dependent *þeah*-clauses is shown to be overwhelmingly subjunctive, exceptions being so few (6 out of 240) as to be negligible. The error was due to counting as indicative forms that are really equivocal, i.e. formally indeterminate. I like to quote one of the many excellent findings, which, needless to say, are all supported by counts as well as a study of the sources: 'The prose use of concessive *ac* is considerably greater than the poetic use, while *hwæðere* forming a non-dependent concession without *þeah* is predominantly a poetic phenomenon; concessions with *and* are common to both materials, but those with zero relating element [parataxis] are practically unknown in the prose, while constituting well-nigh the dominant concessive construction in the poetry.' The author finds little Latin influence in OE concessive constructions, and wherever comparison is possible the independence of the native idiom is clearly marked. — One would like to see this study in print: it indicates the direction in which syntactical efforts can be most beneficially expended.

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HANS HEINRICH MEIER.

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*Reflexive und intransitive Verba im älteren Westgermanischen.*  
By LARS HERMODSSON. Uppsala, 1952. 347 pp.

Scholars attempting to throw light on the early grouping of the WGmc dialects have long seen an important distinguishing mark of the Ingvaeonic group in its lack of a separate reflexive pronoun. But while comprehensive studies were not available it could not be clearly seen what this deficiency implied. Hermodsson's work thus fills a real and important gap and does so in a very painstaking and thorough way. The material included allows, in spite of a selective treatment which had to be adopted, a complete and satisfactory presentation of the subject.

Hermodsson shows how the refl. pronoun was a comparatively late innovation in IE. In early Gmc as well as in other IE languages it functioned both anaphorically and reflexively. The competition between

the primarily anaphoric but later refl. particle \*se- and the personal pronoun led to the elimination of the dative of \*se- in HG while in the Ingvaeonic group, called North West Gmc by the author, both dative and accusative disappeared. Gothic preserved both cases of the refl. pronoun. It is fascinating to think that the almost accidental neglect of a particle in NWGmc at a time when it was functionally not yet well defined had later on such far-reaching structural consequences, leading in English, as a contributory cause at least, to the vast expansion of double function verbs (verbs which can be either trans. or intrans.), while the preservation of this particle enabled German to build up an extensive system of refl. verbs.

In his general introduction Hermodsson considers first the *genera verbi* and gives a short history of the relevant terminology and the various definitions of the *genera verbi*, perhaps slightly overstressing the contributions of the older grammarians. The diathesis of the middle voice is dealt with at greater length as being of particular importance for intrans. and refl. verbs in the Gmc languages. In fact intrans. and refl. verbs are regarded by Hermodsson as the two forms which express the middle voice. Three categories are distinguished: the *medio-active* (the person of the subject performs an act, e.g. *er setzt sich*), *medio-passive* (expresses an event or process without reference to an agent, e.g. *er ängstigt sich*), and *medio-stative* (e.g. *er befindet sich*). Only the first two are of any great importance. Turning now to the two formal expressions of the middle voice the author discusses at great length and with particular reference to the theories of former grammarians first the refl. verb and then the intrans. Unfortunately he does not always escape the danger of generalizing on language as such, while in fact merely studying linguistic phenomena in a very limited group of languages. In NHG the refl. verb is used for the expression of all three categories of the middle apart from serving in its original function as refl. with an object, e.g. *er tötet sich*. Two sub-groups of the medio-passive are characteristic, the one with a personal subject and designating some psychic process, e.g. *er ängstigt sich*, and the other usually with an impersonal subject and designating non-psychic processes, e.g. *die Tür öffnet sich*. The older stages of the IE languages possessed forms of a middle voice, and the refl. verb expanded only gradually and largely by analogy with those cases where the refl. pronoun functioned as true object. Both for Latin and the older stages of Gmc it can be shown that the refl. verb was originally only used with personal subjects. It is pleasing to note that the later expansion to verbs with impersonal subjects is not attributed to 'personification'. Hermodsson shows convincingly that the development was purely analogical.

The intrans. verb is defined as a syntactic-semantic expression of the middle diathesis without being characterized by special forms. It has the meaning of the middle voice but the form of the active. In the early periods of the East and West Gmc languages there was competition between the formally undistinguished intrans. and the formally distinguished refl. verb for the expression of the middle voice. Only those intrans. verbs which



have double function are the subject of this book, in particular the denominatives (mostly de-adjectival) and the non-denominatives which were originally transitive only. As the origin of these later intrans. uses is often seen in some sort of ellipsis — either ellipsis of the object or ellipsis of the refl. pronoun — one would have wished that the term ellipsis had been clarified and subsequently used with more precision. *Ich vergass* is given as an example of ellipsis of an object and this class is called *elliptische Absoluta* (p. 60). This seems to me an infelicitous expression. On p. 105 Sturtevant's phrase 'absolute usage of the verb', referring to the intrans. use of Gothic *daupjan* and *bimaitan*, is interpreted as implying that these originally trans. verbs were used elliptically. If the term *ellipsis* is to mean anything at all it must surely be distinguished from the expression *absolute*. Only where a definite object is omitted — whose meaning is then transferred to the verb — should one speak of an ellipsis. A purely syntactical conception of an ellipsis prevents the desirable precision. An ellipsis is both a syntactical and a semantic phenomenon. What characterizes the ellipsis is the transference of the meaning of a definite object. *Ich vergass* or *I'll go and wash* are examples of absolute usage while *heute entwickele ich (den Film)* or *the batteries opened (fire) against the enemy* are instances of ellipsis. Poutsma (*A Grammar of Late Modern English*, Part II, Sect. II, Chapt. xlv, 26, Groningen, 1904) significantly speaks of 'absorption of the object' and the subsequent 'pregnant meaning' of the verb. In the case of absolute use no transference of meaning takes place. The object of the otherwise trans. verb is not mentioned because it is unnecessary or irrelevant in the given context. The fact that in a small minority of cases the distinction between absolute use and ellipsis is difficult, should not stop us from making it wherever the distinction is possible and useful. When Hermodsson rejects the assumption of ellipsis in the case of Gothic *bimaitan* 'circumcise' (p. 105) because ellipsis presupposes a certain frequency of the use of the particular verb, he overlooks the fact that rigidity of verb-object relationship is even more effective than frequency in bringing about an ellipsis. In spite of this somewhat loose treatment of the phenomenon of ellipsis the conclusions are very sound. The author shows convincingly (p. 107) that originally trans. verbs could, without change of form, be used analogically, i.e. intransitively, to express the middle voice and that one should be wary in assuming ellipsis. Such secondary intrans. use of an originally trans. verb is called *detransitive*. This should allow us to reserve the term ellipsis for semantically obvious and clear-cut cases and should also make superfluous any speculation about large-scale ellipsis of refl. pronouns, especially in English.

The larger part of the book is taken up by a detailed investigation of reflexives and verbs of double function in Gothic, Old and Middle High German, Old Saxon, Old English, Old Frisian, Middle Dutch, and Middle Low German. Special chapters are devoted to general problems of reflexives and intransitives in NWGmc and to the intrusion of HG *sich* in Dutch. The loss of a separate refl. pronoun in NWGmc at a time when



it had not yet proved functionally very important prevented the rise of a large category of refl. verbs. Certain groups of refl. verbs in HG have no counterparts in NWGmc. Instead of refl. verbs intransitives are used. This means that NWGmc possesses certain groups of intransitives which are absent in HG. That this diverse development with its fundamental structural differences is due to the loss of the special refl. pronoun and the unsuitability of the personal pronoun, which had managed to oust the originally largely anaphoric \*se-, is shown convincingly by the example of what happened in Dutch and LG after the adoption of HG *sich*. OHG and MHG show a massive development of impersonal reflexives as this seemed a satisfactory way of expressing the middle diathesis. Latin or French influence is in no way established except in a few instances. Any similarity is explained by parallel development in these languages. OHG and MHG allow double function of verbs only to a very limited extent. On the other hand in OS, where the material is of necessity limited, there are no impersonal reflexives. In Middle Dutch there is only an insignificant number. This state of affairs is quite different in MLG where the HG refl. pronoun had penetrated. Refl. verbs occur in the same proportion as in MHG. Dutch departed radically from the Middle Dutch pattern after the adoption of HG *sich*. The number of double function verbs, very large in Middle Dutch, was quite considerably reduced and the use of reflexives expanded. The purest representative of the NWGmc group is English: on the one hand scant representation of refl. verbs while whole categories, fertile in HG, are undeveloped, on the other hand a large stock of double function verbs, continuously increasing with time.

In spite of being concentrated and heavily weighted with rich material Hermodsson's book is eminently readable and fascinating throughout. There is a complete list of the verbs dealt with and of the literary and scholarly sources. And there is also a succinct and admirably lucid summary.

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*The Structure of English.* An Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences. By CHARLES CARPENTER FRIES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1952. ix + 304 pp. \$ 4.00.

Descriptive studies of structure such as were envisaged by Ferdinand de Saussure have been slow in coming forth outside the field of Romance languages. This is mainly due to the continued influence of the philosophical approach inaugurated by Wilhelm von Humboldt as well as to the persistence of rationalist and normative concepts and terminology in traditional grammar. As shown in a recent survey by J. L. Weisberger<sup>1</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> *Das Gesetz der Sprache*. Heidelberg, 1951.

the philosophical or mentalistic outlook is concerned with the creative forces of language and their bearing on the very lay-out and functioning of a people's mind. Thus it does not only lead away from language as communication but, by its preoccupation with language content, has largely obscured the issue for the student of syntactical structure. The impasse in which conventional grammar finds itself with regard to the theory of the sentence can be traced back also to the fundamentals of logic, whose terms were used to describe syntactical as well as lexical units of ancient languages and were then imposed as prescriptive categories upon languages of widely different structure.

The school of scientific linguists who have been at work in America since the beginning of this century and whose views are laid down in Leonard Bloomfield's *Language*<sup>2</sup> have confined themselves to a purely mechanistic study of the facts of speech (langue) as they heard them uttered by native speakers or as they found them recorded in writing.

The two most important tenets of the mechanists relevant in a study of sentence structure and those that are most emphatically insisted on in the book under review are (1) 'that all the signals of structure are formal matters'<sup>3</sup> that can be described in physical terms' and (2) that 'meaning as the basic tool of analysis' falls outside the scope of linguistic method, although it must be taken into account in the examination and comparison of the materials. What his materials are, how and to what purpose they are used, Professor Fries takes great pains to set out in the introductory chapters of his book. Although he does not say so, he must be the first writer on syntax to base a full-length investigation on mechanically recorded conversations in which the participants (members of a university community in the North-Central part of the United States) were *entirely unaware that their speech was being recorded*. Most of these conversations were telephone conversations of from five to thirty minutes in length and amounting to some 250,000 running words, taking up a total time of about fifty hours. Even a casual glance through the pages of the book will show the advantage of being able to draw on a solid and well-ordered body of natural utterances on a wide range of topics, capable of standing up to the most rigid criticism. Professor Fries describes in detail (chapters II and III) how his material was sorted out with a view to establishing those utterances that were sentences. Accepting, as a starting-point, a combination of Jespersen's and Bloomfield's definitions to the effect that a sentence is an 'independent linguistic form not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form' and one that 'can stand alone', he proceeds inductively, that is without using the data inherent in his definition, to isolate his 'minimum free utterances'. By a long process of comparison (not conducted under the reader's eye), seeking recurrent partials, he arrived at the forms and arrangements that characterized (1)

<sup>2</sup> New York, 1933 (second edition).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. de Saussure's 'la langue est une forme et non une substance'.



minimum free utterances, (2) expanded utterances. By using a further criterion, the nature of the response following upon an independent speech unit, he produced another grouping of sentences, namely (a) statements (60% of all utterances); (b) questions (28%); (c) requests (7%); (d) greetings (4%); and (e) calls (1%).

In an intermediate chapter (IV) Professor Fries exemplifies the accepted view of the signalling function of structural meanings which operate in a system comparable to sets of rules for games such as baseball or chess (de Saussure). These structural signals are limited in number and can be recognized by native speakers without recourse to lexical meanings; they consist of markers attached to, or significantly absent from, lexical units, and of positions, and are termed form-classes or parts of speech. By means of a carefully tested procedure of substitution the author establishes (chapters V, VI) four principal form-classes (1-4) and fifteen groups of function words (A-O). The criterion for all words belonging to one form-class or group is that each of them can occupy the same set of positions within single independent utterances. The four form-classes account for the bulk of the materials studied, containing as they do what would roughly coincide with the conventional word-classes of substantives, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The function words only amount to 154 separate units which however, unlike the members of form-classes, show no formal contrasts by which they can be identified: In *The boys came*<sup>4</sup> (p. 107) the irreversible position of the Class 1 word *boys* before the Class 2 word *came* signals a statement and recognition of this fact need not rely on the co-operation of lexical meaning. A nonsense word in place of *boys* would function in the same way. *Woggles came* has every appearance of a statement. But in sentences like *Who came*, or *The boy was given the money* and *The boy had given the money*, or *The boys and the leaders were invited* and *The boys of the leaders were invited* there is no purely formal contrast (position or inflectional marker) by which the structural meanings of *who*, of *was* and *had*, or *and* and of respectively, can be distinguished. The words have to be known as separate vocabulary items mostly belonging to short lists, as for example *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, *will*, *would*, *should*, *must*, *has to*. Another peculiar feature of some function words is their lack of any clear-cut lexical meaning apart from their structural meaning: *the*, *shall*, *and*, *there* (in *there's a man at the door*).

The most instructive chapters (if the epithet be at all permitted with a writer of such acumen) are VII—X, in which the identifying characteristics of the form-classes and function words as well as of the basic sentence patterns are examined in detail. The word lists illustrating the contrastive outward shapes (not to be confused with the morphological forms) of the four parts of speech are particularly impressive. Words such as *arrival*, *refusal*, *denial*, *acquittal*, etc. are recognized as units of structure in virtue of their contrasts to *arrive*, *refuse*, *deny*, *acquit*, etc., as becomes most patent

<sup>4</sup> Punctuation is omitted throughout the book to suggest the oral nature of examples.

in minimum contrasts: *This exercise is fun*: *This exercise is funny*; *The train appeared slow*: *The train appeared slowly*. Professor Fries is aware of the difficulty of making the reader see these contrasts in terms of structural, not of lexical meaning, although anyone not familiar with the scientific method will continually be tempted to think on traditional lines, especially in cases where semantic contrasts do in fact concur with structural contrasts.

An interesting example of this distinction occurs in the chapter on structural patterns of sentences (VIII). Professor Fries points out that in *Who are they leaving it for* the function word *Who* is not the sole signal of question, since the reversal of Class 1 and Class 2 (*are they*) has the same structural meaning. He supports his contention by adducing a parallel sentence that is not a question, in which the order of the Class 1 and Class 2 words is that of statement: *Who they are leaving it for we don't know*. On the strength of a remark on p. 141 that, in general, 'position' markers supersede morphological or form markers this might be taken to imply that *Who*, in the question, has lost of its structural meaning as an interrogative function word because that meaning is out-ranked by the *are they* order. But why exactly has *Who* no interrogative function in the second sentence where the arrangement of the Class 1 and Class 2 words is not that of a question? Surely *Who* at the beginning of a sentence cannot be devoid of structural meaning either partially or wholly. Should we not see in this word *Who* (in both sentences) the substitute word of a Class 1 word combined with final *for*, a structure that would fall under the form of 'phrase modifiers' of a Class 2 word (a verb) such as are dealt with in chapter X (p. 230: *They worked only for the inside people*; to which would be analogous the statement form of our first example *They are leaving it for John*)? Or could *Who*, if we chose to disregard the final *for*, be considered an indirect object (cf. p. 185)? The author does note that, on the evidence of the intonation, *Who they are leaving it for* is what he calls an included sentence. In that case *Who* is a signal of inclusion pointing forward to a sentence unit to be included in a larger unit. Words operating in this function are mentioned in chapter X (p. 253), though Group I to which *who* belongs is not explicitly referred to there. The problem of the two sentences which have been discussed at some length here may perhaps be driven nearer a solution once the question of the 'rank' of included sentences has been further elucidated, a task that is hinted at on p. 255.

Professor Fries himself has referred to future treatment a number of other subjects that would come within the range of sentence structure. Here, then, may be listed some of the results of his book that have not been commented on so far.

In the chapter on 'subjects' and 'objects' it is made plain that 'performer' is not equivalent to 'subject'. Other meanings of 'subject' are 'that which undergoes the action' (*O— was elected sheriff*), 'identification', 'description'. All important varieties of subjects and objects are described



in terms of structural meaning and a simple notation has been invented to represent the principal word order patterns of subject-object constructions as well as to visualize ranks (layers) of immediate constituents (Ch. XII), that is the close structural groupings that go to make sentences.

In a sub-section on the meanings of 'modification' with Class 1 words as heads, a gallant attempt is made at classifying the profusely varied material. Certain baffling cases have been successfully tackled, as for instance in this (slightly shortened) description: When Class 3 words (adjectives) having either the same form as Group D function words (degree), or having forms contrasting with *-ly* words of the same group, appear as modifiers of Class 1 words that are derivatives of Class 3 words (*stranger, necessity, importance, etc.*) then the meaning in the modification is not that of 'quality of a substance' but 'degree of the quality': a *perfect stranger* (= perfectly strange, not: a stranger that is perfect), *utter blackness* (utterly black). Slightly different groups like a *criminal lawyer* are found to be, in the strict sense, structurally ambiguous. Professor Fries does not call in intonation<sup>5</sup> at this point, which may mean that here intonation has no ascertained contrastive function. The objection that no one would in point of fact refer to a lawyer who had committed a crime as a *criminal lawyer* but would resort to a *lawyer who is a criminal* or some such phrase is of course taboo in scientific linguistics. Again, *truck driver, rug sale, garden enclosure, birthday remembrance* are all said to contain a modifier of the sense 'undergoer of action', whereas a distinct feeling suggests itself that they are on slightly different levels. Professor Fries, in another part of the same chapter (p. 233), voices the same impression when he says that 'the separation of these meanings seems to be a matter of the lexicon'. But it may well be that we shall see their delimitation in terms of structure.

Professor Fries has written what may prove to be one of the chief documents of the mechanistic school. The fact that a book about a still fairly unknown science is so readable is due to its author's sustained lucidity of style. He was well advised when he proposed to address himself to the educated lay reader and to use a language that would be understood by those he had in mind: teachers at all kinds of schools. Professor Fries has himself long been engaged in teaching English and although his aim, in the present book, has been to provide a 'fundamental descriptive analysis upon which practical textbooks can be built' it is to be hoped not only that he may continue his research on this new and fascinating subject but also perhaps show the way to the practical application of his findings.

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<sup>5</sup> Students of structure are called upon to consider Professor Fries's remarks on intonation, especially those on pp. 26-28 and 143.